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Security Council

Fifty-third Year

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Thursday, 13 August 1998, 5.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Türk	(Slovenia)
Members:	Bahrain	Mr. Al-Mansoor
	Brazil	Mr. Amorim
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Costa Rica	Mr. Niehaus
	France	Mr. Thiebaud
	Gabon	Mr. Dangue Réwaka
	Gambia	Mr. Jagne
	Japan	Mr. Takasu
	Kenya	Mrs. Odera
	Portugal	Mr. Soares
	Russian Federation	Mr. Fedotov
	Sweden	Mr. Dahlgren
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Burleigh

Agenda

The situation in Angola

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (S/1998/723)

98-85666 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 5.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Angola

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (S/1998/723)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Angola, in which she requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Coelho Da Cruz (Angola) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola, document S/1998/723.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1998/749, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1998/728, which contains the text of a letter dated 7 August 1998 from the Acting Chairman of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 864 (1993) concerning the situation in Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker on my list is the representative of Angola, to whom I give the floor.

Ms. Coelho da Cruz (Angola): May I begin, Sir, by congratulating you, on behalf of my Government, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I should like also to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Lavrov, on the positive work he did during his mandate.

As we meet today, the prospects of a long and lasting peace in Angola are still a mirage. After some promising and encouraging signs following the legalization of UNITA early this year, the peace process is now taking a serious and dangerous turn owing to the progressive and rapid deterioration of the security situation in many parts of Angola. As a matter of course, UNITA, instead of fulfilling its commitments and obligations under the peace process, has chosen to launch armed attacks with a view to occupying additional territory, targeting mainly the civilian population, local government authorities, the national police and the armed forces.

As a result of this wave of violence, more than 650 people have been killed, 500 wounded and more than 600 kidnapped; most of the victims were civilians. Furthermore, UNITA has reoccupied 90 localities where state administration had already been normalized. Not only is this a step backward, but it has also led to a huge increase in the number of refugees and displaced persons.

My Government strongly condemns these actions, which constitute a blatant violation of the Lusaka Protocol and the relevant Security Council resolutions. Furthermore, this pattern of violations casts serious doubts on UNITA's alleged commitment to the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. Were it not for UNITA's systematic bad faith and stonewalling of the application of the peace accords, Angola would now be at peace.

The present crisis and deadlock in the peace process is not just the result of its complexity. UNITA's stance leads us to believe that the present scenario is a strategy by UNITA leadership to hamper the Government's ability to function, to worsen the social and economic situation and to provoke chaos, hoping to create an environment for UNITA to assume power in Angola by force.

There is hard evidence to support this. First, UNITA leadership intentionally lied to the United Nations and the international community regarding the demobilization and demilitarization of its forces. It still maintains a number of military units, composed of thousands of heavily armed men. Secondly, UNITA is avoiding the normalization of state administration in its

key sites, namely, Andulo, Bailundo, N'Harea and Mungo. Those areas are used to receive armaments and other *materiél* smuggled in from international arms dealers. Thirdly, UNITA is postponing over and over again its full installation in the capital, using baseless and suspicious excuses.

Last weekend, more than 150 civilians were cruelly killed by UNITA forces during an armed attack that culminated in the occupation of the city of Kunda-Dia-Base, Malange Province. And less than a month ago, more than 300 civilians were assassinated in Bula, Lunda Norte Province, by UNITA forces.

The Angolan people, outraged by these repugnant killings, hope that the international community, and the Council in particular, will take steps to put an end to these atrocities. Condemnations alone are not enough to force UNITA to stop such barbaric actions and adhere to the peace process. Stronger action is needed. The Angolan Government, as a Member of the United Nations family, is entitled to receive the necessary support from the United Nations in order to prevent a new escalation of the war.

The imposition of sanctions by the Security Council against UNITA sent a clear message to the UNITA leadership that the international community will not tolerate its delaying tactics and plans to return to war. We therefore believe that in order to be more effective, the existing sanctions should be coupled with other measures likely to tighten the isolation of UNITA's military wing.

It seems that UNITA's military wing does not understand yet that its actions aimed at jeopardizing the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and its attempts to take power by force are in vain. UNITA's actions will only lead to a further loss of life among the innocent people it claims to defend and to the destruction of the country for which it claims to fight. Instead of resorting to manoeuvres bound to delay the fulfilment of its outstanding duties in the peace process, UNITA leadership must strive to allow the unconditional and unfettered normalization of state administration along the areas it still occupies, cease immediately all military attacks, demilitarize de facto all its forces by the end of this month and install its headquarters in the capital by 27 August.

The Angolan Government, still committed to a peaceful solution to the conflict, will continue to do its utmost to avoid a resumption of the hostilities and achieve a successful outcome to the peace process. We hope that the draft resolution to be adopted today can help to persuade UNITA to abide by its obligations.

Finally, let me express once again our tribute to the work of the late Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, for the cause of peace in Angola. We are confident that his replacement, Mr. Issa Diallo, will pursue the role of Mr. Beye with the same dynamism and wisdom.

We would like also to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the three observer countries for their efforts in bringing peace to Angola.

The President: I thank the representative of Angola for the kind words she addressed to me and to my predecessor.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Amorim (Brazil): In the first months of this year we witnessed some positive developments in the peace process in Angola. The Government of Unity and National Reconciliation legalized UNITA as a political party, nominated provincial governors from UNITA and began the process of appointing ambassadors from that movement. The special status of Mr. Savimbi as the leader of the largest opposition party was promulgated by President José Eduardo dos Santos. The demilitarization of the civilian population was intensifying.

At the beginning of June we were at another critical juncture in the tortuous Angolan peace process. To our disappointment, the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol was once again off track due to non-compliance by the leadership of UNITA. The Security Council then had no choice but to adopt resolution 1173 (1998) on 12 June, condemning the leadership of UNITA and holding it responsible for its failure to implement fully its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol. By the same resolution the Council imposed financial sanctions upon UNITA and adopted measures intended to curb official contacts and trade benefiting its leadership, in the hope that these would have an impact on UNITA's attitude.

The untimely accident which took the life of Maître Beye created a vacuum which affected the process negatively. Thus, despite the strong action taken by the Security Council, the situation in Angola has deteriorated further, as stated in the report of the Secretary-General contained in document S/1998/723.

UNITA continues to refuse to transfer localities in Angola to Government control and has been busy trying to retake by force those it has already transferred. These are only two aspects of the multifaceted situation, which is characterized by deterioration and which has been referred to by the representative of Angola.

A few positive signs in the Angolan situation, albeit modest ones, were noticed after the arrival in that country on 31 July of Mr. Brahimi, the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General. He met with the Government and with the leadership of UNITA and is touring countries in the region.

Hopefully, the Joint Commission will be able to resume its work constructively and a systematic dialogue will be re-established. But let me stress once again that if UNITA does not fulfil its part of the peace agreement soon, we will arrive at a situation in which the very presence of a Security Council-mandated force in Angola may come into question.

My delegation agrees with the proposed extension of the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) for 30 days. We will thus follow the recommendation made by the Secretary-General in his report. As to the draft resolution itself — in favour of which my delegation will vote — let me highlight the fact that it adequately stresses the main responsibility of UNITA for the setbacks in the peace process. It also appropriately calls upon the international community to observe fully the provisions of resolutions 1173 (1998), 1127 (1997) and 864 (1993). We believe that only by taking such a firm stand will the Council be able to influence positively the actual course of events in Angola and contribute to the long-sought peace in that country.

Mr. Richmond (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland): Ten years after the United Nations first became involved in Angola and four years after the signing of the Lusaka Protocol, the peace process ought to be on the verge of completion. Instead, it is edging dangerously close to collapse. It is not too late to pull back from the brink, but whether the Angolan people are dragged into further conflict or the peace process is put back on track depends on the Government of Angola, and above all on UNITA.

We commend the Secretary-General's decision to send Mr. Brahimi to Angola and the appointment of Mr. Diallo as his new Special Representative. Both face enormously difficult tasks. They have our full support. But their efforts can succeed only if the parties themselves exercise restraint. A failure to do so will have disastrous consequences. There is a particular onus on UNITA to honour its obligations. It must end its prevarication and complete the tasks remaining, as set out in the Lusaka Protocol and reiterated in the draft resolution before us today. It must now cooperate in the extension of State administration to all areas of Angola; it must demilitarize its forces and cease armed attacks; and it must complete the transformation of UNITA into a political organization.

The international community has invested great effort in trying to bring peace to Angola. It is a vital contribution to the peace and development of southern Africa as a whole. There is an urgent need for recommitment by all sides to the Lusaka process. We hope that, under the guidance of the Secretary-General's Special Representative and with the support of the region, the leaders of the Government and of UNITA will take the necessary steps to revitalize the peace process.

Mr. Soares (Portugal): Portugal fully supports the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) until 15 September 1998. It endorses the recommendation of the Secretary-General to extend the mandate for one month, taking into account the stalemate in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and the situation on the ground.

The peace process in Angola is at a particularly critical juncture, marked by the absence of sustained dialogue and the deepening of mutual mistrust. As a result of UNITA's irresponsible activity, the military and political situation has continued to deteriorate and the peace process has been pushed to the brink of collapse, raising the danger of the resumption of civil war. Indeed, the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol is at stake due to the failure of UNITA to demobilize fully its forces and to facilitate the extension of State administration throughout the country. This behaviour is delaying peace and stability in Angola. Moreover, the continuation of UNITA's attacks against Government-controlled areas and United Nations personnel and other attempts to

destabilize the country, as reported by the Secretary-General, are of particular concern to Portugal.

In the last few months, UNITA missed several deadlines for compliance with the remaining tasks of the peace process. This persistent pattern of non-compliance by UNITA with its obligations under the terms of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and the relevant resolutions of the Council must end. UNITA must take decisive and irreversible steps for the peaceful resolution of the crisis on the basis of the Lusaka Protocol.

We deeply regret that since the adoption of resolution 1180 (1998) almost no significant progress has been made in the remaining key tasks of the peace process, even after successive attempts in the most recent weeks to put the process back on track through dialogue and diplomacy. In this context, I want to commend the Secretary-General for the expeditious manner in which he responded to the crisis — which was aggravated by the death of Maître Beye — and his decision to dispatch Under-Secretary-General Miyet and Ambassador Brahimi to Angola. We are sure that the Secretary-General will continue to follow this matter with the attention it deserves and will not hesitate to intervene personally if and when that is necessary. We welcome the recent appointment of a new Special Representative, Mr. Issa Diallo, which we hope will bring new momentum to the peace process. Portugal also calls upon the Government of Angola to continue to exercise patience and restraint and to persevere in its effort towards the full completion of the peace process.

The draft resolution before us has been designed to show the Government of Angola and UNITA that the United Nations and the international community are willing to continue to help the Angolan people achieve peace and stability, and we urge its full implementation.

Mr. Dahlgren (Sweden): The people of Angola deserve a lasting peace. No one, least of all the civilian population, which has suffered so much already, can afford a continued deadlock in the peace process. The Angolan people deserve better than the current military tension and the armed attacks which have affected civilians, Angolan authorities and United Nations and humanitarian personnel. The Angolans deserve better than seeing vital humanitarian assistance delayed and stopped because of the serious security situation. And they deserve better than the risk of losing what has already been accomplished in the peace process.

The Government of Sweden is deeply disturbed by the lack of progress in the peace process in Angola over the past months. As stated in the draft resolution before us, this is primarily the result of the failure of UNITA to fulfil its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol. There can be no alternative to the full implementation of those commitments, including in particular the full demilitarization of those forces which UNITA has retained despite its declarations and contrary to its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol, as well as through cooperation in the extension of state administration.

We hope that both the Government and UNITA will use the coming weeks to set the peace process back on track and will give priority to the need for national reconciliation and confidence-building, based on respect for the human rights of all Angolans. We urge both parties, but in particular UNITA, to cooperate with the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) and to guarantee the safety and security of United Nations and humanitarian personnel.

We welcome the recent visit by the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Brahimi, to Angola and the region and the most welcome appointment of Mr. Issa Diallo as the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General. We hope that these steps will give the peace process the momentum it so clearly needs. We agree with the Secretary-General that to continue to work towards peace and reconciliation is the best way to honour the memory of Maître Beye and his associates, who died so tragically in June.

The Government of Sweden believes that there will continue to be an important role for the United Nations in promoting and building peace in Angola. The various elements of MONUA — military, police, political and human rights — have all made essential contributions to the peace process. We look forward to the recommendations of the Secretary-General on the future role of the United Nations in Angola in these fields. In anticipation of those recommendations, we fully support the draft resolution before us today, which will extend the mandate of MONUA until 15 September 1998.

Mr. Niehaus (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It has been more than 10 years since the United Nations began what we might call its long, frustrating and exhausting presence in Angola. The many resolutions, presidential statements and statements to the press have yielded absolutely no positive results. Today

we face an extremely grave situation in which there is not even a focused political dialogue. There have been martyrs, such as Maître Beye, who devoted and indeed gave their lives to the noble cause of the reconciliation of the Angolan people. I take this opportunity to express our undying thanks to Maître Beye and his colleagues.

The international community has been involved throughout this long period, during which there have been attempts to establish a government of national unity and to help the Angolan people to become an active member of the international community. Despite the international community's constant threats and measures, this has not been possible. Responsibility for this negative result lies with UNITA and with those from outside the country who support UNITA activities through the trade in precious minerals.

The terms of the most recent sanctions, imposed by resolution 1176 (1998), state clearly that no financial assistance should be given to UNITA. For positive results to be obtained, it is imperative that these sanctions should be implemented and fully observed by all States Members of the United Nations.

My country firmly believes in the peaceful settlement of disputes, but we know that this is possible only with political will and trust among the parties, which unfortunately is absent in the Angolan situation. The situation is deteriorating daily; we have gone from having simply to condemn UNITA to having also to condemn violations of human rights perpetrated by the Angolan National Police. This results from the increased violence and the continued refusal of UNITA to negotiate, to implement the Lusaka Protocol and the "Acordos de Paz", or to extend state administration to remaining areas. My country has frequently joined the rest of the international community in calling upon the parties to the Angolan peace process to live up to their agreements; the refrain, while repetitive, remains relevant, and it is our duty today to call upon UNITA and its friends abroad immediately and unconditionally to comply with the Lusaka Protocol and the "Acordos de Paz".

The humanitarian situation in Angola continues to be of concern to my delegation. The level of violence has given rise to a larger number of internally-displaced persons and is making it very difficult to provide humanitarian assistance, because the international organizations themselves are threatened and harassed, which hampers their humanitarian efforts.

The main job of the international community is strongly to encourage a dialogue that will lead the parties to engage in direct talks that will make possible a solution of the Angola crisis with respect for human rights and in conformity with the fundamental principles of the Organization. We are pleased to note that the Secretary-General has appointed a new Special Representative, Mr. Issa Diallo, and we hope that he will succeed in his work and that the efforts and devotion of Maître Beye will not have been in vain. In any case, such success will depend on the parties, particularly UNITA, adopting a frank, constructive attitude and a determination to achieve a solution to the conflict in Angola.

Costa Rica supports the recommendations of the Secretary-General and will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us, by which the Council would extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA), as currently composed, until 15 September 1998.

Mr. Shen Guofang (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): When the Security Council adopted resolution 1180 (1998) nearly two months ago, my delegation expressed the hope that the new sanctions would make UNITA honour its commitments under the Lusaka Protocol so that the peace process in Angola, which has been under way for a number of years, could come to a successful conclusion. Regrettably, the anticipated result has not come about. To the contrary, the situation in Angola has of late continuously deteriorated, the peace process has come to a standstill, and the threat of all-out armed conflict has grown. We believe that UNITA bears the main responsibility for this situation.

The peace process in Angola was not easily put in place. The international community has invested great resources in that process, and many, including Maitre Beye, have lost their lives in the name of that process. The Security Council should do everything possible to keep the peace process on track.

China calls once again upon UNITA to meet its obligations immediately and unconditionally, to demobilize the armed forces under its control, to put an end to the violence against the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) and against the Government and the people of Angola, and to commit itself to cooperation with the United Nations and with the Government of Angola to resolve the crisis in a peaceful manner.

China welcomes the Secretary-General's appointment of Mr. Issa Diallo as his new Special Representative in Angola, and hopes that Mr. Diallo will play a positive role. We look forward to the report and proposals to be submitted by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi on the future role of the United Nations in Angola. Moreover, we are in favour of extending the mandate of MONUA until 15 September 1998.

The Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council.

Mr. Jagne (Gambia): We are yet again faced with an urgent situation, but have limited options at our disposal to deal with a conflict that is seemingly intractable. We have seen it before: each time the situation in Angola is discussed, no sooner are our hopes raised than they are dashed again for one reason or another. Everything humanly possible has been done by the international community to help bring peace to Angola, but those efforts have been consistently frustrated, culminating in a state of neither peace nor war. Considering the rapidly deteriorating political and security situation, that now sounds like an understatement. In the process, as always, the innocent civilians bear the brunt of the attendant difficulties and atrocities: human rights abuses, exposure to landmines, mass killings, poverty, illness and disease, people internally displaced or haunted by the spectre of being refugees — the list could go on and on.

The draft resolution before us is a last-ditch attempt to salvage the peace process before the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) expires. We hope that the parties concerned will understand once and for all that there is no alternative to the Lusaka Protocol. In this context, my delegation also welcomes the appointment of a new Special Representative to continue the good work that Maître Beye had been doing, and we call on all Angolans to give their unflinching support to him in carrying out his mandate.

In the same vein, we note with satisfaction that the Secretary-General has sent a Special Envoy to the region. We are anxious to share his assessment of the situation upon his return. Until then, my delegation agrees with the recommendation of the Secretary-General to extend the mandate of MONUA for a month, until 15 September 1998.

What happens next will depend to a large extent on the Angolans themselves. If only they would draw inspiration from the words of all those who paid a well-deserved tribute to the late Maître Beye and his team for the ultimate sacrifice that they made, and try their utmost to accomplish the cherished dream of bringing peace and national reconciliation to Angola. It could not have been better expressed by the Secretary-General than when he said in his report:

> "The best way to honour Mr. Beye, in memory, therefore, would be for the Government and, in particular, UNITA to work resolutely towards the genuine peace and national reconciliation, which the people of Angola deserve so much." [S/1998/723, para. 40]

Mr. Takasu (Japan): We are now at a critical juncture in the Angolan peace process, and the international community is once again compelled to express its grave concern at the worsening situation in that country. The report of the Secretary-General identifies, clearly and unambiguously, who is primarily responsible for the recent negative developments: UNITA. Because of UNITA's persistent and blatant disregard for the peace process, the progress that has been achieved so far is in jeopardy and the entire process is in danger of unravelling.

The patience of the international community has worn thin as, time and again, UNITA has failed to live up to its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol and the relevant Security Council resolutions. Once again, we call upon UNITA to comply, fully and unconditionally, with the provisions of the Protocol and those resolutions. In particular, it is imperative that UNITA demilitarize its forces and complete the transfer of the localities it has occupied to Government control as soon as possible.

The situation in Angola as described in the Secretary-General's report is profoundly discouraging. We are gravely concerned that full-scale hostilities might resume. Both sides are building up their military capabilities, exchanging incendiary propaganda and engaging in other actions that run counter to the efforts which the Angolan people have made to achieve national reconciliation. There can be no military solution to the situation in Angola. It is urgently important that the Government and UNITA enter into a political dialogue to put an immediate stop to this dangerous escalation of tensions. The United Nations, and especially the Security Council, has been engaged in Angola for a decade, beginning with the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM I). Most recently, the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) has been

working tirelessly with the Angolan people to achieve the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol so as to put an end to the long years of conflict. Thus, we are all the more disturbed by the lack of cooperation with, and even efforts to obstruct, the activities of MONUA on the part of both parties, particularly UNITA. The Government is also expected to comply with the requirements under the Lusaka Protocol and to refrain from any actions that are inconsistent with it. We strongly urge both parties to extend the fullest possible cooperation to the United Nations Observer Mission.

We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his steadfast commitment to the peace process, and we look forward to hearing the report of his Special Envoy, Mr. Brahimi, when he returns to New York, so that we may be better able to assess the situation and devise a course of action for the future. I also wish to take this opportunity to welcome the appointment of Mr. Issa Diallo as the Secretary-General's new Special Representative. My delegation looks forward to working with him in the coming months.

As I stated earlier, this is a critical period in the Angolan peace process. A great deal is at stake for the people and for the international community. The international community must not fail the Angolan people by allowing the situation to once again escalate into full-scale conflict. Therefore, the draft resolution before us authorizes a one-month extension of the mandate of MONUA, after which time its future will be subject to a review on the basis of an assessment of the situation by the Special Envoy. We hope it sends a clear message not only to UNITA but also to the Government regarding their respective roles and responsibilities for effective national reconciliation in accordance with the Lusaka Protocol. For this reason, Japan will vote in favour of it.

In closing, I join other Council members in paying tribute to Maître Beye and to the five MONUA staff and two crew members who were killed when their aeroplane crashed near Abidjan. Their contributions to the peace process were incalculable, and they will long be remembered. My delegation shares the wish of the Secretary-General, as quoted by the Ambassador of the Gambia, that their deaths should not be wasted. We are confident that Mr. Diallo will be effective in continuing the important work to which Maître Beye and other people dedicated their efforts and their lives.

Mr. Thiebaud (France) (*interpretation from French*): The situation in Angola has deteriorated considerably in recent months, characterized in particular by increased violence and crime, the lack of any dialogue between the Government and UNITA — for which UNITA is to blame — the re-emergence of a general climate of fear in the civilian population and the forced displacement of more than 120,000 people since March 1998. The report of the Secretary-General also highlights the growing insecurity that is seriously hampering the activities of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA).

The delegation of France deeply deplores this development, which works against the peace and reconciliation efforts to which Maître Beye so tirelessly devoted himself. The delegation of France would again like to pay tribute to the work of Maître Beye and his colleagues and to welcome the appointment of Mr. Diallo, the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General, whom we assure of our support.

We particularly deplore the attitude of UNITA, which has still not respected its main commitments under the Lusaka Protocol: complete demobilization of its troops and the acceptance of the extension of State administration over the entire national territory. By stepping up its delaying tactics and failing to meet the obligations and deadlines that it had undertaken to respect, UNITA bears the primary responsibility for current developments.

The draft resolution before us today demands that UNITA comply immediately with its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol and refrain from any activity that undermines the process of national reconciliation.

In this context, we welcome the commitment of the Government of Angola, reiterated today before the Council, to continue to seek a political and peaceful solution and to ensure the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. We assure the Government of Angola that it has the support of France in its work of reconstruction and national reconciliation.

We hope that the current mission of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, Mr. Brahimi, will give us a full assessment of the situation on the ground and provide us with ways and means to rekindle the peace process and to fully assess the future role of the United Nations. Accordingly, we support a one-month extension of the mandate of the United Nations Mission and will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

Mr. Fedotov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Russian Federation is following with alarm the developments in Angola. The situation there has steadily worsened in recent months, and there exists a great danger of the resumption of war in that country. The cause of the worsening situation is UNITA's persistent failure to comply with its obligations under the peace settlement, its hindrance of the extension of the State Administration and its active military build-up.

There has been a dangerous escalation in armed attacks on representatives of governmental authority, personnel of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA), international staff and the civilian population. Rather than working for the complete transformation of UNITA into a political party, in accordance with the Lusaka Protocol, UNITA's leadership, despite its earlier promises, is increasing its demands and pretexts. By acting in such a way, UNITA is not only harming the cause of reconciliation, it is ignoring outright the repeated warnings of the Security Council. UNITA's conduct is all the more inadmissible because its activities heighten instability not only within Angola, but in neighbouring countries as well, which could cause the conflict to spread to the broader African subregion.

The international community has made considerable efforts to promote a political settlement in Angola. We are convinced that this policy must continue. However, the Angolan parties themselves must also acknowledge that without respect for peace in Angola such assistance cannot be effective.

We demand that UNITA fulfil unconditionally and on time its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol. We also expect the Government of Angola to continue to honour in good faith its commitments under the peace agreement.

The draft resolution to be adopted today by the Security Council is to some extent of a transitional nature, as we are discussing the extension of the mandate of MONUA for 30 days, in expectation of new, major, important recommendations from the Secretary-General, during the preparation of which the future role of the United Nations in Angola must be reassessed. We welcome the mission of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, Mr. Brahimi, and we await his report.

We believe it important that the Secretary-General continue to play a role in the peace process. The implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and progress on national reconciliation would be the best tribute one could pay to the late Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Beye, who died so tragically while carrying out his duties. We express our full support for his successor, Mr. Diallo, and we hope the Angolan parties will cooperate fully with him. The Security Council must continue to follow developments in Angola.

Mr. Dangue Réwaka (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Whereas at the beginning of this year, concrete positive signs pointed to a restoration of peace in Angola, especially with the promulgation of the law recognizing UNITA as a political party and the appointment by the Government of UNITA officials to high-ranking posts, the normalization of the situation in certain areas and the end of Radio Vorgan broadcasts, it is regrettable now to note that due to UNITA's intransigence, the political, security and humanitarian situation has further deteriorated.

We have seen signs of unusual troop movements in areas under UNITA control, which suggest preparations for the resumption of hostilities. This attitude must be condemned, as it runs counter to the spirit and the letter of the Lusaka accords and the relevant Security Council resolutions. Accordingly, we ask UNITA to keep its word and to honour the commitments it has voluntarily undertaken, including the complete demilitarization of its combatants and the extension of State administration to the four areas still under its control: Andulo, Bailundo, Mungo and N'Harea.

Similarly, rather than laying more mines, UNITA should, in the interest of the Angolan people, which aspires to peace and social and economic development, allow the Government and international organizations that have access to the relevant technology to pursue demining operations. The completion of these operations will facilitate the free movement of individuals, the cultivation of arable land and the distribution of the humanitarian assistance the Angolan population so badly needs.

In this context, we welcome the recent appointment of Mr. Issa Diallo as the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Angola, and we are convinced that his commitment to the African cause and to peace in general will be an undeniable asset in the continuation of MONUA's activity.

It is for all these reasons that my delegation supports the extension of MONUA's mandate until 15 September 1998 and that it will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

Mr. Al-Mansoor (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, I would like to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his detailed report and for his active and committed role in connection with the situation in Angola. I would also like to express our appreciation to the troika countries — the United States, the Russian Federation and Portugal — for all their efforts. Our thanks go also to all the States that are trying to make a contribution to the resolution of the crisis in Angola, as well as to the personnel of the United Nations and of international humanitarian organizations working in Angola. My delegation wishes the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Issa Diallo every success.

Unfortunately, the report catalogues a number of negative aspects in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, which constitute obstacles to the peace process. They are all due to the intransigence of UNITA and the refusal of its leaders to advance the peace process in Angola and to allow its people at long last to resume their normal lives. This is being delayed by UNITA's shirking of its obligations under the peace process, which must be fulfilled in order to bring peace to that country.

As an expression of Bahrain's keen interest in bringing lasting peace to Angola, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council. The leaders of UNITA must honour the obligations they have made under the peace process. In this context, we reiterate our appeal to the Government of Angola and to UNITA in particular to achieve national reconciliation. We call upon UNITA to hand over the localities under its control and to demobilize all the forces it continues to maintain, with a view to the reintegration of the troops into society. Any further delay in this regard would have negative repercussions on the security, political and humanitarian situation in Angola.

Finally, there is a very important element that impels us to launch this appeal to the two parties to achieve peace and lasting reconciliation: the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, and some of his colleagues made the ultimate sacrifice while attempting to restore normal life in Angola. In order to honour their memories and as a token of appreciation for their efforts, the two parties to the conflict must work together to fully implement the commitments they entered into under the Lusaka Protocol.

Mrs. Odera (Kenya): The situation in Angola has deteriorated rapidly, threatening not only the delicate stability of that nation but also regional peace and security. The Kenyan delegation is greatly perturbed by the lack of political goodwill, which has heightened the crisis in Angola.

The military and security situations unfortunately seem to be leading towards renewed confrontation. We urgently appeal to both the Government and UNITA to exercise maximum restraint and move the people of Angola away from the brink of war.

As the security situation deteriorates, the humanitarian situation has worsened. More and more people have become internally displaced to such an extent that now over 10 per cent of the country's population falls in this category. Many Angolans have fled to neighbouring countries, as disease and lack of food and medical supplies continue to afflict the internally displaced population. We encourage the international community not to give up, but to continue its much-needed efforts to alleviate the plight of the Angolan people.

These political and military developments have substantially eroded the confidence of both parties in upholding all the elements of the Lusaka Protocol, which is the heart of the peace process. We can only urge them to move quickly back to the negotiating table.

This crisis has seriously affected the work of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA), and in the context of this perception among the parties that a military solution is feasible, the presence of MONUA has become even more important. We are therefore happy to note that the downsizing of MONUA's military component has been temporarily suspended. We believe that MONUA's presence will continue to serve as a stabilizing component within the peace process.

It is against this background that my delegation supports the draft resolution which extends MONUA's mandate for one month, until 15 September 1998.

My delegation strongly supports the Secretary-General's appeal to the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and, in particular, UNITA to renew their efforts towards national reconciliation and immediately institute confidence-building measures at national and local levels, including the expeditious reactivation of the joint mechanisms in the provinces.

Without reconciliation a lasting and enduring peace will continue to be merely a dream. We appeal to the leaders of Angola to look within themselves, set aside their political differences and come together to build a peaceful, united and prosperous Angola.

This is the main concern of the Council. It is also this concern that motivated the Secretary-General to quickly dispatch his Special Envoy, Ambassador Lakhdar Brahimi, to the region. We have to quickly build on the immense progress made by the late Maître Alioune Blondin Beye to ensure that these gains are not lost for ever.

We welcome the timely appointment of Mr. Issa Diallo as the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General to Angola. We wish him great success and assure him of our complete cooperation. We do this not only as a member of this Council and chair of the sanctions Committee, but also as an African nation. The cooperation of the parties with Mr. Diallo will be a fitting tribute to the memory of the late Maître Beye.

Mr. Burleigh (United States of America): The peace process in Angola is at a critical stage. The deteriorating political and security situation in Angola calls for creative and constructive measures to bring about lasting peace. The United States welcomed the Secretary-General's decision to send a Special Envoy to Angola, and we are encouraged by the Special Envoy Brahimi's success in getting the Angolan parties to resume their dialogue and in the tentative forward movement in the peace process during and after his visit. We urge the parties to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General's new Special Representative to Angola, Mr. Diallo, to build on this momentum.

Today, the United States will vote in favour of the draft resolution to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) until 15 September. We look forward to an in-depth review of the future United Nations presence in Angola when the Secretary-General presents his recommendations to the Council at the end of the month.

While the international community continues to demonstrate its commitment to assist the Angolan peace process, the responsibility for peace rests with Angolans themselves. We urge the Government of Angola and UNITA to respect fully and unconditionally the obligations they undertook when they signed the Lusaka Protocol. UNITA must demilitarize completely and cooperate in the immediate and unconditional extension of State administration throughout the national territory. The Government of Angola must respect and protect the rights of all Angolan citizens, as well as UNITA's legitimate role as a political party.

Indiscriminate violence, propaganda, forced conscription and the laying of new mines all undermine the peace process and spur even more violence. These activities must stop. The United States condemns in the strongest terms the perpetrators of the July massacre in Lunda Norte province. We are deeply concerned at recent reports of a similar loss of life in the province of Malange.

MONUA must be permitted full and immediate access so that it can undertake its mandated verification activities. We also call upon the Government of Angola and UNITA to guarantee unconditionally the safety and freedom of movement of all United Nations and international personnel so that they can safely continue their vital work.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Slovenia.

Recent developments in Angola have brought the country to the brink of an abyss. Active military preparations are under way, and both the Government and UNITA are engaged in forced-recruitment drives. The laying of new mines in the country is pervasive, and the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) has witnessed an increasing number of attacks on remote villages and police stations.

The situation is particularly grim as over 1 million people are now internally displaced due to the derailment of the peace process. There is little doubt that UNITA bears the brunt of the responsibility for this lamentable state of affairs. On 1 July, in response to the still-unresolved status of Andulo, Bailundo, N'Harea and Mungo, this Council imposed additional sanctions on UNITA, with a view to eliciting its cooperation.

Rather than handing over the central highland strongholds, however, UNITA has since then embarked on what appears to be a carefully orchestrated campaign to retake areas previously ceded to the Government. This deplorable course of action has also confirmed the suspicions that UNITA has kept in reserve its elite combat units and their modern equipment, despite all the assurances to the contrary. Needless to say, such behaviour represents a brazen contravention of the Lusaka Protocol.

For its part, the Government has helped to deepen the climate of mistrust and insecurity in the country by intensifying what the Secretary-General described in his latest report as "hostile propaganda". This development is all the more regrettable in the light of the fact that UNITA ceased its anti-Government transmissions on 1 April, when it closed down the Vorgan radio station and took a major step towards full compliance with the peace process.

The situation in Angola thus calls for a renewed mediation effort by the international community. It is indicative that the disturbing spiral of violence came on the heels of the tragic death of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, on 26 June. It is equally noteworthy, however, that the recent presence in Angola of the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, has helped to stabilize the situation and has resulted in a return to Luanda of the head of the UNITA delegation, Mr. Isaias Samakuva. Slovenia therefore welcomes the appointment of Mr. Issa Diallo as the new Special Representative for Angola. We encourage him to continue the legacy of Mr. Blondin Beye and put the peace process back on track as soon as possible.

In this context, we would like to appeal to the Government and to UNITA to refrain from actions that could undermine the longest period of peace Angola has known in decades. We urge them to continue to search, with the assistance of the international community, for a non-military solution to their differences.

In conclusion, let me say that implementing a peace agreement following a prolonged and destructive civil war is inevitably a difficult balancing act. The years of internecine conflict have left a tragic mark on the psyche of an entire generation of Angolans, for whom violence, hunger and the rule of the gun have become a way of life. The one-month extension of MONUA's mandate, as proposed by the Secretary-General, is therefore necessary. Indeed, it is imperative that a solution to the current impasse be found and that the Lusaka Protocol be preserved. Slovenia will therefore join all the other members of the Security Council in voting in favour of the draft resolution.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1998/749.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Bahrain, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, France, Gabon, Gambia, Japan, Kenya, Portugal, Russian Federation, Slovenia, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1190 (1998).

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3917

Security Council

Fifty-third Year

Provisional

3917th Meeting

Tuesday, 18 August 1998, 11.40 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Türk	(Slovenia)
Members:	Bahrain	Mr. Al-Dosari
	Brazil	Mr. Felicio
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Costa Rica	Mr. Sáenz Biolley
	France	Mr. Thiebaud
	Gabon	Mr. Dangue Réwaka
	Gambia	Mr. Jagne
	Japan	Mr. Konishi
	Kenya	Mr. Amolo
	Portugal	Ms. Gomes
	Russian Federation	Mr. Fedotov
	Sweden	Mr. Lidén
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Richmond
	United States of America	Ms. Soderberg

Agenda

International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for such Violations Committed in the Territory of Neighbouring States

Letter dated 7 August 1998 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1998/760)

98-85672 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for such Violations Committed in the Territory of Neighbouring States

Letter dated 7 August 1998 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1998/760)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Security Council have before them document S/1998/760, which contains the text of a letter dated 7 August 1998 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council regarding the nominations which have been received for judges of the Trial Chambers of the International Tribunal for Rwanda. In this connection, the members of the Council will note the information contained in the Secretary-General's letter.

Members of the Council also have before them the draft of a letter which I, as President of the Security Council, would propose to send to the Secretary-General in reply to the aforementioned letter, informing him of the decision by the Council to extend the deadline for nominations of judges of the Tribunal until 14 September 1998.

In the absence of objection, I shall assume that the Security Council agrees that I should send the letter as drafted to the Secretary-General.

It is so decided.

The reply will be issued as a document of the Council under the symbol S/1998/761.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council remains seized of the item.

The meeting rose at 11.45 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3918

Security Council

Fifty-third Year

Provisional

3918th Meeting

Monday, 24 August 1998, 1.05 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Türk	(Slovenia)
Members:	Bahrain	Mr. Buallay
	Brazil	Mr. Amorim
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Costa Rica	Mr. Niehaus
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Gabon	Mr. Dangue Rewaka
	Gambia	Mr. Jagne
	Japan	Mr. Konishi
	Kenya	Ms. Odera
	Portugal	Mr. Monteiro
	Russian Federation	Mr. Fedotov
	Sweden	Mr. Dahlgren
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Burleigh

Agenda

Letter dated 11 March 1998 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1998/223)

Letter dated 27 March 1998 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1998/272)

Report of the Secretary-General prepared pursuant to Security Council resolution 1160 (1998) (S/1998/712)

98-85695 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 1.05 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 11 March 1998 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1998/223)

Letter dated 27 March 1998 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1998/272)

Report of the Secretary-General prepared pursuant to Security Council resolution 1160 (1998) (S/1998/712)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Germany and Italy, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Reichel (Germany) and Mr. Fulci (Italy) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General prepared pursuant to Security Council resolution 1160 (1998), document S/1998/712.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1998/675, which contains the text of a letter dated 20 July 1998 from the Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the text of a statement by the President of the European Union.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General of 5 August 1998 (S/1998/712) submitted pursuant to its resolution 1160 (1998) of 31 March 1998.

"The Security Council remains gravely concerned about the recent intense fighting in Kosovo which has had a devastating impact on the civilian population and has greatly increased the numbers of refugees and displaced persons.

"The Security Council shares the concern of the Secretary-General that the continuation or further escalation of the conflict in Kosovo has dangerous implications for the stability of the region. In particular, the Council is gravely concerned that given the increasing numbers of displaced persons, coupled with the approaching winter, the situation in Kosovo has the potential to become an even greater humanitarian disaster. The Council affirms the right of all refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes. In particular, the Council emphasizes the importance of unhindered and continuous access of humanitarian organizations to the affected population. The Council is concerned over reports of increasing violations of international humanitarian law.

"The Security Council calls for an immediate ceasefire. The Council emphasizes that the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Kosovo Albanians must achieve a political solution to the issue of Kosovo and that all violence and acts of terrorism from whatever quarter are unacceptable, and reiterates the importance of the implementation of its resolution 1160 (1998). The Council reaffirms the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and urges the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Kosovo Albanian leadership to enter immediately into a meaningful dialogue leading to an end to the violence and a negotiated political solution to the issue of Kosovo. It supports in this context the efforts of the Contact Group, including its initiatives to engage the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Kosovo Albanian

leadership in discussions on the future status of Kosovo.

"In this regard, the Security Council welcomes the announcement by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, the leader of the Kosovo Albanian community, of the formation of a negotiating team to represent the interests of the Kosovo Albanian community. The formation of the Kosovo Albanian negotiating team should lead to the early commencement of a substantial dialogue with the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with the aim of ending the violence and achieving a peaceful settlement, including the safe and permanent return of all internally displaced persons and refugees to their homes.

"It remains essential that the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Kosovo Albanians accept responsibility for ending the violence in Kosovo, for allowing the people of Kosovo to resume their normal lives and for moving the political process forward.

"The Security Council will continue to follow the situation in Kosovo closely and will remain seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1998/25.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3919

Security Council

Fifty-third Year

Provisional

3919th Meeting

Thursday, 27 August 1998, 3.50 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Türk	(Slovenia)
Members:	Bahrain	Mr. Buallay
	Brazil	Mr. Felicio
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Costa Rica	Mr. Sáenz Biolley
	France	Mr. Thiebaud
	Gabon	Mr. Dangue Réwaka
	Gambia	Mr. Faal
	Japan	Mr. Konishi
	Kenya	Ms. Odera
	Portugal	Mr. Monteiro
	Russian Federation	Mr. Zmeevski
	Sweden	Mr. Dahlgren
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Burleigh

Agenda

International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia

Establishment of the list of candidates for Judges

98-85701 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 3.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia

Establishment of the list of candidates for Judges

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1998/806, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Bahrain, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, France, Gabon, Gambia, Japan, Kenya, Portugal, Russian Federation, Slovenia, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1191 (1998).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 3.55 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3920

Security Council

Fifty-third Year

Provisional

3920th Meeting

Thursday, 27 August 1998, 9.50 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Türk	(Slovenia)
Members:	Bahrain	Mr. Buallay
	Brazil	Mr. Amorim
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Costa Rica	Mr. Sáenz Biolley
	France	Mr. Thiebaud
	Gabon	Mr. Dangue Réwaka
	Gambia	Mr. Touray
	Japan	Mr. Konishi
	Kenya	Mr. Amolo
	Portugal	Mr. Monteiro
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Sweden	Mr. Dahlgren
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Burleigh

Agenda

Letters dated 20 and 23 December 1991, from France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America (S/23306, S/23307, S/23308, S/23309 and S/23317)

Letter dated 24 August 1998 from the Acting Permanent Representatives of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/1998/795)

98-85707 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 9.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letters dated 20 and 23 December 1991, from France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America (S/23306, S/23307, S/23308, S/23309 and S/23317)

Letter dated 24 August 1998 from the Acting Permanent Representatives of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/1998/795)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Netherlands, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those two representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Dorda (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. Berteling (Netherlands) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1998/795, which contains the text of a letter dated 24 August 1998 from the Acting Permanent Representatives of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1998/809, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to documents S/1998/803 and S/1998/808, letters dated 25 and 26 August 1998 respectively, from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker inscribed in my list is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, to whom I give the floor.

Mr. Dorda (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, it is my pleasure to extend my congratulations to you, Sir, on your presidency of the Security Council for this month. I must also express our appreciation to Ambassador Lavrov of the Russian Federation for his successful leadership of the Council's deliberations last month.

First, merely because two persons were suspected, without any evidence, in connection with an incident that took place many years ago and that did not threaten international peace and security, the Security Council adopted resolution 731 (1992) in clear contravention of paragraph 3 of Article 27 of the Charter, as well as of Articles 32, 33 and 36.

Second, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya immediately lodged a protest with the International Court of Justice in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Third, the Security Council thereafter adopted resolution 748 (1992) and then resolution 883 (1993), which imposed an embargo on Libya, under Chapter VII of the Charter, but in contravention of the Charter, and on the basis of resolution 731 (1992), which is also in contravention of the Charter.

Fourth, there have been many developments regarding this matter over the past seven years. Libya has continued to suffer from an embargo based on the law of the jungle instead of on legitimate legal authority.

Fifth, as the international community sees the justice of Libya's case, and since it cares enough about the United Nations to prevent the Security Council from being used for political purposes, particularly given the absence of a balance within the Organization during this decade — regional organizations put forward a number of proposals and undertook a number of initiatives during the past seven years. Those proposals and initiatives,

however, were completely disregarded by the other two parties to the dispute.

Sixth, in the face of that disregard, regional and international organizations have been compelled to develop their positions, urging the Security Council — which under the Charter acts on behalf of the international community — to impose its will. On 27 February 1998 the International Court of Justice issued a judgment against the United States of America and Great Britain, reasserting its jurisdiction over the case on the basis of the 1971 Montreal Convention arising from the Aerial Incident at Lockerbie, and rejecting the appeal put forward by the two other States contesting that jurisdiction. Strong support for the Libyan position was expressed by the international community during the plenary meeting of the Security Council on 20 March 1998. Despite the complete disregard of all the proposals, initiatives and appeals it had made over the past few years, the Organization of African Unity issued a declaration in Ouagadougou. The ministerial summit of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Cartagena made a recommendation on the issue.

Seventh, after all that time, in view of those developments, the other side finally stated that it would agree to a trial being held in a third country. Three days ago, on Monday, 24 August, a draft resolution was placed before the Security Council. On Wednesday, the draft was formally introduced in the Council, and a vote was requested for today.

Eighth, Libya received the text of the letter to the Secretary-General from the other parties and the accompanying documents on the evening of Monday, 24 August, three days ago. It was asked to express its agreement even before those documents were translated into Arabic.

Ninth, Libya and the international community had been waiting for years for responses to their proposals. When the other side finally agreed to our proposal last Monday, it added a number of legal documents to it and expected my country, the Security Council and the international community to agree within hours to what had been delayed for many years.

Tenth, on the basis of our experience with the other side — experience going back well before this dispute — we have had substantive fears ever since the declaration made in *The Guardian* on 21 July 1998, which was followed by formal declarations on the issue. We do not say this today only. We said it that same week to the President of the Security Council for July, Ambassador Lavrov, and we said it to all the members of the Security Council, with whom we requested a meeting and did meet during that period. We said the same thing to Secretary-General Kofi Annan during a meeting held for that purpose alone. We also expressed this position in our letter to the members of the Security Council and the members of the five-, six- and seven-member committees created by the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Arab League on the subject. That letter expressed our major fears and concerns pertaining to the Lockerbie issue. The United States and the United Kingdom have expressed their official position pertaining to the trial of the two suspects in The Hague; however, the following comments are very important in judging the seriousness of their commitment to justice.

Our major fears and concerns in connection with this issue have to do with the Ouagadougou proposals that were put aside, the Non-Aligned Movement summit in South Africa, maintaining sanctions and alienating the international community and regional organizations from Libya.

The acceptance of a trial in a neutral country means that judicial authorities in that country are empowered to hold the trial because it is on a pure, technical legal issue. In addition to the law and judges, there are many other very complicated, detailed issues that must be taken up from a strictly judicial point of view. The rights of the two suspects must be maintained and defended at all times. The two States concerned must arrange for extradition. Investigation and trial procedures and judicial background must be set forth. In the case of acquittal or conviction, what are the responsibilities of the two parties? There are yet other technical issues, and all the judicial authorities in the countries concerned need to come to agreement about these matters.

Further, the sanctions must be lifted or suspended at least. No text of any Security Council resolution mentions extraditing suspects to judicial authorities. Who is responsible for such an extradition, and what are the judicial procedures for it? Regional organizations, particularly the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States — the originators of various proposals — must play an essential role in the subsequent steps as well as witness all procedures. Finally, the organizations concerned must maintain their positions in order for the two suspects to be tried and sanctions to be lifted. That is what we said last month before expressing our formal position.

When expressing those concerns, and before the other party in the dispute had expressed its formal position, it was the intention of my country, as we repeatedly said at the time to the presidency and members of the Security Council and to the Secretary-General, to avoid any difficulties or obstacles that would complicate the issue and return it to the starting point. Our concerns were serious and legitimate.

To insist on placing all the parties in a difficult situation, and to impose a requirement for acceptance within hours — despite the fact that there is surely a need for all to have adequate time to examine all the legal documents, which are very complicated — merely adds to both our past and present doubts. The other party suspended consideration in the Security Council of the two judgments made by the International Court of Justice under the pretext that it required sufficient time for experts to look into the two judgments. The same argument applies today.

In the light of what I have said, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya would like to make several comments before the Security Council. First, we welcome the acceptance by the United States of America and the United Kingdom of the proposals already made by the League of Arab States and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and supported by the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) and the Non-Aligned Movement more than four years ago. We believe that this acceptance is a positive step likely to result in a satisfactory and just solution for all to this long-standing dispute — a dispute from which our people, as well as the families of the victims, have suffered.

Secondly, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya accepts that the two suspects should be tried in a Scottish court in the Netherlands by Scottish judges, according to Scots law. We reaffirm this position today; we have already stated it, as has been officially recorded in the Security Council. This is a serious, irreversible position. We hope that the other party is also serious in its position. There is still an important issue that must be formally reaffirmed before the Security Council — an issue we have taken up with the Council and with the Secretary-General many times. From today, the issue will return to its original status as a strictly legal matter.

The judicial authorities in the two other countries considered the legal aspect of all the documents accompanying the letter from the two States to the Secretary-General, and this was reaffirmed in the statements made by various officials, particularly the statement made a few weeks ago by Ms. Reno, the Attorney-General of the United States of America. Likewise, the Libyan judicial authorities now have the duty and right to consider the different procedural and legal issues pertaining to the different arrangements and judicial aspects. For our part, we are prepared to undertake such considerations either directly with the judicial authorities of the States concerned or through the Secretary-General.

We look forward to closing the entire file on this matter. Libya has proved its seriousness and flexibility throughout every stage. We reaffirm to the Council that we shall remain serious and practical during the next stage.

I should like to make several comments about the draft resolution before the Security Council, in order to underline our seriousness and our legitimate concerns. The language of the draft resolution gives legitimacy to our concerns. By recalling previous Security Council resolutions, the first preambular paragraph gives the impression that the resolutions have been implemented neither in part nor in their entirety, although my country has fully responded to those resolutions. By referring to Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, the fifth preambular paragraph again places the issue outside its proper context, especially since the intervention of the Security Council in this matter may be considered procedural, taking into account the judgment of the International Court of Justice.

Operative paragraph 1 of the resolution demands once again that the Libyan Government immediately comply with resolutions 731 (1992), 748 (1992) and 883 (1993) and makes no mention at all of Libya's actions in the field of terrorism: its cooperation with the United Kingdom on relations with the Irish Republican Army; the denunciation and condemnation of terrorism; the demand for the dispatch of an international commission to ascertain that Libyan territory does not have any terrorist training camps; the call for the convening of an international conference on terrorism; and judicial cooperation with France to bring to a close an international issue through an investigative judge who expressed his satisfaction for this cooperation in a letter to the Foreign Minister of his country.

Operative paragraph 2 welcomes the letter from the representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States, and also refers to arrangements that took place

between the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, in which Libya did not participate. Paragraph 3 calls on the Governments of the Netherlands and the United Kingdom to undertake the necessary measures to implement the initiative, without mentioning the United States of America, which might therefore consider that it has not committed itself to any agreement between the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

Paragraph 4 decides that Libya shall ensure the appearance in the Netherlands of the two accused for the purpose of trial and that it shall present any evidence or witnesses; but it does not provide for any assurances or special arrangements with regard to the two accused or the witnesses.

Paragraph 5 requests the Secretary-General to assist Libya with transferring the two accused from Libya to the Netherlands. However, there are no guarantees or arrangements pertaining to the period of the trial itself.

Paragraph 6 does not set out the tasks of the international observers, state how many of them there should be or mention the effect that their views may have on the trial. Paragraph 7 does not mention Libya or any arrangements with the Netherlands on transferring the two accused; it does not mention their safety or residence or provide any guarantees to them. Paragraph 8 refers to the appearance of the two accused before an appropriate court in the United Kingdom or the United States at any time. While the United States is not party to the agreement with the Netherlands, article 16 (2) of the agreement does provide for the possibility of extraditing the two accused to the United Kingdom.

Paragraph 9 pertains to additional measures that may be undertaken; this is particularly worrying, as no dialogue or consultations have taken place with Libya to date.

In conclusion, my country reaffirms its seriousness and eagerness to close this file and open a new page in its relations with the United States and the United Kingdom, based on mutual respect, non-interference in internal affairs, and dialogue and mutual benefit, instead of embargo. We hope that the other party will now show the same eagerness, desire and earnest.

We salute the international community and thank it for its consistent and ongoing support. In particular, we thank the international and regional organizations, especially the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement and all its members, as well as all the States and organizations that supported us within and outside the Security Council.

We thank you, Mr. President, and the members of the Security Council for this opportunity to convey our position and concerns before the Council. In particular, we thank and salute the members of the Security Council that stood by my country in its legitimate stance against injustice and offer them our wholehearted gratitude.

We cannot fail to convey our thanks and appreciation to Secretary-General Kofi Annan for his continuing efforts to find a solution to this issue. We reaffirm the importance of his role and reiterate our readiness to cooperate with him in seeking appropriate and practical means to close the file under consideration.

The President: I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Burleigh (United States of America): With the expected adoption of this draft resolution, the Security Council will take an important step towards obtaining a measure of justice for the victims of the Pan Am flight 103 bombing and their families.

The arrangements endorsed in this draft resolution will assure a fair trial for the two Libyan suspects. The proceedings will be consistent with the requirements of United Nations resolutions as well as United States, British and Dutch law. The terms of the draft resolution and modalities of the trial have been carefully crafted by legal experts and are based on the decisions of the international community, as reflected in Security Council resolutions 731 (1992), 748 (1992) and 883 (1993).

We thank the Government of the Netherlands for helping to bring about the arrangements endorsed in this draft resolution.

We deeply regret the hostile and negative content and tone of the Libyan representative's statement tonight. What we need now from the Libyans is not aggressive, equivocal or conditional statements, but simple, straightforward acceptance. Chapter VII resolutions are mandatory on all Member States, including Libya. We look now to the Libyan Government for prompt action. We expect its deeds to be the proof of its stated intentions.

The Libyan representative raised a question as to whether the United States would feel bound by all the elements of this draft resolution. It goes without saying, but let me say it anyway: I can assure him that we do.

Let us not mince words. For Libya, dealing positively with this draft resolution can mean one thing and one thing alone: ensuring that the two suspects appear to stand trial in the Netherlands without delay.

The international community has heard the Libyan Government repeat, on numerous occasions, its explicit commitment to cooperating in bringing the defendants to trial under Scottish law, with Scottish judges, in a neutral third country. Senior Libyan officials have made that commitment on the record many times, including the Libyan Foreign Minister's personal pledge to this Council just last March. Now Libya will be required to live up to that pledge.

The United States, the Security Council and the world community are watching. Most importantly, the family members of the 270 victims of the Pan Am flight 103 bombing are watching. Failure by Libya to act promptly to ensure the appearance of the defendants would be a monumental breach of faith which would compel the Security Council to act appropriately in response. We hope that will not be necessary.

In recent years, a number of nations and regional Organizations — including the Arab League, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement, which is about to convene an important summit conference in South Africa — have endorsed exactly the sort of arrangements contained in this draft resolution. They have urged the United States and the United Kingdom to adopt this approach. We have listened to their views and responded.

We now call upon those nations and organizations, in turn, to urge Libya in the strongest terms to turn over the two defendants for trial without delay. Just as we will be watching Libya's response to this draft resolution, we will be carefully gauging the response of those nations and those organizations. we expect unhesitating and unequivocal support for this draft resolution. The victims of the Pan Am flight 103 bombing and their surviving family members deserve nothing less.

I would also reaffirm United States support for France in its ongoing investigation of the UTA bombing. As we look forward to convening the trial of the Pan Am flight 103 defendants, we will continue to support France's demand for Libya's full cooperation on the question of UTA flight 772.

It has been nearly 10 years since the terrorist bombing of Pan Am flight 103. Since that terrible day in December 1988, the United States, the United Kingdom, the surviving family members and the world community have suffered the frustration of a long, complex investigation and an even longer period of delay and equivocation by the Government of Libya.

This draft resolution spells out exactly what Libya must do and notes the Security Council's intention to consider further measures if the two suspects do not appear for trial promptly. We expect Libya to take the necessary steps so that the trial can proceed without further delay. The international community and the families of the victims have waited long enough.

Mr. Monteiro (Portugal): Last March, in an open debate on this item, Portugal welcomed the proposals put forward by the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States to find a compromise solution to the question of the bombing of the Pan Am and UTA flights. Those proposals, aimed at avoiding further delays in the serving of justice and at putting an end to the suffering of the Libyan people, were envisaged by Portugal as a constructive political effort.

We believe that justice delayed is justice denied, first of all, to the relatives of the victims suffering the loss of their beloved. Justice delayed is justice denied also to the whole international community defending itself against terrorism and upholding international law. Finally, justice delayed is justice denied also to the innocent Libyan people, who are enduring sanctions imposed on their country.

Any compromise solution should obviously be consistent with the legal and political dimensions enshrined in the Security Council's resolutions. And we

should not lose sight of our goal of enabling justice to be rendered.

We were convinced, then, that the time had come for the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, to find more efficient ways to bring this matter to an end. Today, with the adoption of this draft resolution, the Security Council will show that it is up to the challenge. The members of the Council have proved to be open to positive and serious proposals. My delegation acknowledges, in particular, the efforts undertaken by the United Kingdom and the United States to find alternative solutions that will enable the Council to respond fully to the concerns of the international community.

By adopting this draft resolution, the Council will open the way to bringing to trial the two persons charged with the bombing of Pan Am flight 103, a hideous crime that has gone unpunished for almost 10 years now. In this trial, the accused will enjoy fully the rights enshrined in the European Convention on Human Rights, as that instrument continues to apply to procedure in accordance with Scottish law. The solution found could not be more reassuring that the accused will enjoy a fair trial.

The Council is responding with a position of openness and dynamism to the will of the international community. That is, after all, the role of the Security Council, upon which the general membership of the United Nations, under the Charter, has conferred the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. We shall always recall that in performing that role the Council acts on their behalf.

My delegation commends the Governments of the United Kingdom and of the United States for this positive step. We also would like to thank the Government of the Netherlands for its indispensable cooperation. We welcome the positive response of the Libyan Government. The solution that has been put forward reveals the vitality of the Council. Today, through the Council's decisive action, justice will finally be able to emerge and sanctions to be lifted.

We are confident that the opportunity afforded by this draft resolution, which my Government fully supports, will not be missed.

Mr. Thiebaud (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French Government immediately welcomed the initiative announced by the authorities of the United States and of the United Kingdom to hold the Lockerbie trial in a third country, in this instance the Netherlands. France takes this opportunity to pay tribute to the Netherlands authorities for their readiness to cooperate.

France, the United Kingdom and the United States were all hit by acts of terrorism in the air in 1988 and 1989, and appealed to the Security Council to support their request that the Libyan Government should permit the investigation to be carried out and that justice should be done. Since then, the three countries have shown unfailing solidarity, and this is now being reaffirmed.

The French Government takes note with satisfaction of the decision by the United Kingdom and the United States to accept one of the proposals made by a number of regional organizations and officially accepted by the Libyan Government: to try the two suspects in the Lockerbie attack in the Netherlands before a Scottish court and in accordance with Scottish law. My Government expects the Libyan Government to fulfil the commitments it has made in the past and to act upon the positive reaction the Libyan authorities gave yesterday, which was reaffirmed this evening before the Council.

The French authorities have regularly kept the Security Council and the Secretary-General informed about developments in the investigation into the attack on UTA flight 772, most recently on 6 November 1997. Naturally, we shall continue to transmit to the Security Council and to the Secretary-General new information that should be brought to their attention.

We recall that the draft resolution to be put to the vote this evening modifies the conditions for suspending sanctions as regards the holding of the trial in the attack of Pan Am flight 103. The other provisions of resolution 883 (1993), relating to cooperation with the French judicial authorities and to the final lifting of sanctions against Libya, are not affected by the text before us today, in favour of which my delegation will be voting.

Mr. Amorim (Brazil): Five months ago, during the open debate on the letters dated 20 and 23 December 1991, from France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, the Brazilian delegation expressed its hope that the international community, with the cooperation of the Government of Libya, would be able to ensure that, in a fair and transparent way, responsibility for the terrorist attacks against Pan Am flight 103 and UTA flight 772 would finally be established by means of a fair trial.

Recent developments have brought us closer to that moment. We praise the Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom for the flexibility which they have shown in accepting one of the compromise solutions supported by a great number of Member States and by several organizations, whose efforts also deserve our recognition. The Government of the Netherlands is also to be commended for providing assistance in a creative way to enable a foreign court to exercise jurisdiction in its territory. We hope that, in the same spirit, the Government of Libya will offer its full cooperation in the next steps that are required. We note that Libya has already announced its acceptance of the development in the positions of the Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom and has confirmed that it would deal positively with it.

It is important to note that diplomatic efforts, including consultation and dialogue, have proven to be essential tools for the devising of a solution which, being acceptable to all parties involved, has the best of prospects of being implemented.

The performance by Libya of actions specifically set out by Security Council resolutions, including the one which we are about to adopt, will allow sanctions to be suspended with a view to their being lifted. Paragraph 8 of the draft resolution before the Council, which refers in turn to paragraph 16 of resolution 883 (1993), is clear in this respect. We stress also the role of the Secretary-General specified in the draft resolution, notably in paragraphs 5, 6 and 8. Like others, we strongly hope that the intention expressed in paragraph 9 need not materialize.

Five years ago we indicated our conviction that the imposition of sanctions must always be linked to the performance of limited, concrete and specific acts that are required as essential by decisions of the Security Council. Such acts must be specifically set out by the Council so that the State on which sanctions are imposed may be able to know in advance and beyond all doubt that the sanctions will be lifted as soon as those specific requirements are met. It is with the same conviction that we will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

We take this opportunity to reiterate our strong condemnation of terrorist acts of any kind, committed for whatever reason, as well as our commitment to international cooperation to eradicate this scourge, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and in the framework of international law. Finally, we would also like to reiterate our deepest sympathy to the families of the victims, who have the legitimate right to expect that justice should be done.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): Russia is deeply committed to rooting out international terrorism. We favour comprehensive intensification of coordinated international efforts to combat a scourge that undermines the safety of individuals and the stability of States and of entire regions.

The Security Council must continue to give top priority to this problem. Here we also reaffirm our consistent position that Security Council resolutions on the Libyan question must be implemented.

Since the imposition of sanctions, Libya has made progress towards fulfilling the requirements set out in resolutions 731 (1992) and 748 (1992), which relate to the condemnation of terrorism and to the provision of information on this subject. Thanks to Libya's cooperation, the investigation into the UTA flight 772 incident is being successfully concluded.

At the same time, the deadlock in the Lockerbie case, which has existed for many years, has prevented complete compliance with those Security Council resolutions. As a result, the sanctions regime against Libya has been maintained. Russia has consistently said that it favours searching for mutually acceptable solutions on the venue and format of the trial of the two suspects.

Initiatives on possible scenarios for holding the trial have been put forward by the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries; these are well known and have received broad international support. We consider that the present initiative by the United States and the United Kingdom is, broadly speaking, on the right track. It is essentially based on one of the options that had been proposed: that the trial should be conducted in a third country, before a Scottish court and in accordance with Scottish law.

The draft resolution under consideration by the Council today is aimed at putting that option into practice. We believe that it will ensure a fair trial, with proper guarantees of the legal rights of those who appear before the court as accused or as witnesses. It is extremely important that, as soon as the two suspects arrive in the Netherlands, the sanctions regime against Libya should be terminated.

Agreement on the draft resolution confirms that this is the only way — by stepping up all-round interaction among States and on the basis of the norms of international law — that we can put a firm halt to international terrorism.

On the basis of these points, the Russian delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution which, given the sensitivity of this problem, is the result of a difficult compromise by all interested parties. This decision by the Security Council paves the way not only to resolving the Lockerbie case, but also to the final closing of the Libyan problem in the Security Council, as envisaged by the appropriate decisions of the Council.

It is particularly important to have the cooperation of all sides in implementing the draft resolution we are to adopt today. In this connection, we welcome the Permanent Representative of Libya's expression of his country's willingness to cooperate with the Secretary-General of the United Nations in order to fulfil the procedures envisaged in this draft resolution.

Mr. Konishi (Japan): In the years since the Pan Am flight 103 and UTA flight 772 were downed, various ongoing efforts have been made to clarify the facts surrounding the disasters, among whose victims was a Japanese national. Nearly seven years ago, two persons were accused of the terrorist attacks, and the Security Council has sought through its resolutions 731 (1992), 748 (1992) and 883 (1993) to bring them to trial in an appropriate court of either the United Kingdom or the United States. Japan, which vigorously condemns terrorism in all its forms, has appealed repeatedly for the Libyan Government to comply with the requirements of those resolutions. Regrettably, the Libyan Government failed to do so, and efforts to bring the crime to justice seemed to be hopelessly deadlocked. Such a prolonged stalemate is also undesirable from the viewpoint of the authority of the Security Council and the United Nations system.

Japan recognizes that it was under these circumstances that the United Kingdom and the United States announced the exceptional initiative of arranging for a trial of the suspects before a Scottish court sitting in the Netherlands — an initiative which is in line with the proposal of the League of Arab States, for which the Libyan Government has already indicated its support and which has been endorsed by the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

We pay high tribute to the United Kingdom and the United States for their determination to resolve this deadlock situation and thus maintain the authority of the Council. Japan also commends the Kingdom of the Netherlands for its cooperation in this complex and difficult arrangement.

Japan welcomes Libya's confirmation, in its statement of 26 August, with respect to the United Kingdom/United States proposal that,

> "it will deal positively with this step and will give it the attention it deserves",

and hopes that it will respond promptly and positively to the initiative by delivering the suspects. In doing so it will pave the way for the resolution of this tragic situation and for the lifting of the sanctions under which its people have been suffering, both of which the international community — including Japan — has long been waiting for. It is in the hope of moving forward towards the resolution of the situation that Japan supports the adoption of this draft resolution.

Mr. Dahlgren (Sweden): International terrorism constitutes a threat not only to individual lives, but also to international peace and security. This was true 10 years ago and is still true today, as we unfortunately have just recently experienced.

The search for clarity and justice in the cases of Pan Am flight 103 and UTA flight 772 has never ceased. We owe this to the victims, some of whom were Swedish citizens, and to their families. For the future, it is also crucial that instigators and perpetrators of acts of terrorism be made to understand that the international community is fully committed to bringing them to justice and preventing such cowardly acts from recurring.

In the case of Pan Am flight 103, the refusal of Libya to surrender for trial the two suspects prompted the Security Council to impose sanctions on Libya. In the light of the previous lack of progress on this issue, my Government warmly welcomes the initiative now taken by the United Kingdom and the United States, in close cooperation with the Netherlands, which will open the way for a trial before a Scottish court in the Netherlands.

The initiative now taken is fully in line with proposals previously put forward by, *inter alia*, the Arab League and the Organization of African Unity, and which have been accepted by Libya. We were glad to hear that

acceptance repeated tonight. Sweden now urges Libya to cooperate fully so that the draft resolution we are about to adopt can be implemented without further delay. That draft resolution means that the sanctions imposed on Libya will be suspended immediately when the Secretary-General reports that the two Lockerbie suspects have arrived in the Netherlands for the purpose of the trial and that the Libyan Government has satisfied the French judicial authorities in the UTA case. My Government sincerely hopes that Libya will promptly seize this opportunity so that justice can finally be done.

Mr. Touray (Gambia): Almost 10 years ago, Pan Am flight 103 was brought down over Lockerbie, in Scotland, killing all 259 passengers and 11 other people. Since then the families of the deceased from this tragedy endured untold grief as they waited for justice to be meted out. Three years later, the Security Council came up with three resolutions requiring Libya to produce the two persons accused of the bombing of the Pan Am flight for trial in the United Kingdom or in the United States, failing which sanctions were imposed against Libya.

Libya has been under excruciating sanctions for seven years. These sanctions have brought untold suffering to the Libyan people — especially to women and children — and have virtually crippled its aviation infrastructure. The Petrovsky report attests to this fact.

On numerous occasions in the Security Council, we have advocated a speedy resolution to the impasse that was created by the imposition of the sanctions. We have always emphasized that a solution agreeable to both parties would be mutually beneficial, as justice would be done for the bereaved persons and Libya would be relieved of the bite of the sanctions.

In a bid to find a solution to this impasse, the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries came up with an initiative that would allay the fears of the Libyan authorities for a just and fair trial and would also ensure justice to the bereaved persons for the crimes done. This initiative resulted in the proposal that a trial be held in a third country — in the Kingdom of the Netherlands — by Scottish judges and according to Scots law and procedure. The Libyan authorities have since indicated their acceptance of this proposal on several occasions. The latest was on 26 August 1998.

The draft resolution under consideration today is a historic one. It is historic because it is setting the stage for the possibility of the resumption of normal life in Libya without sanctions and of opening the doors for Libya to regain its rightful place in the international community. It is also historic because for the first time in international legal affairs a court would sit out of its jurisdiction. The decision by the United Kingdom and the United States of America to go down this road must be cheered as a heroic move geared towards putting to rest a problem that has bedevilled us all for 10 years. It is a bending-over-backwards to accommodate an initiative which is far from ordinary.

The Gambia, being one of the main advocates of the initiative, congratulates the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of the United States of America for their understanding and cooperation in these difficult times.

The time for justice has come. The time for making good on promises made in the past is also here. My delegation, having had friendly and fraternal ties with Libya, has no doubts that it is good at keeping promises. We have no doubt that it will comply with its obligations, as it has always done.

My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Buallay (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My country condemned the Lockerbie incident, a terrorist act, just as we condemn all forms of terrorism and all perpetrators and abetters of terrorism as well as those who give them safe haven. We reiterate our condolences to the families of the victims, we reaffirm our sympathy with them, and we hope that the day is near when justice will prevail. We reiterate also our call for the convening of an international conference to combat terrorism.

After years of deadlock in the Security Council, despite the many efforts deployed during that time, and the imposition of sanctions on the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya because of the suspected involvement of two of its citizens in the Lockerbie incident, today a positive development is taking place: the United States-United Kingdom initiative, one of three initiatives put forth by the League of Arab States to resolve the Lockerbie issue. My country also welcomes Libya's positive response to the initiative, which it had previously accepted when it was set forth initially.

The draft resolution before the Security Council today calls for suspending the sanctions imposed on the

Libyan Arab Jamahiriya if the two suspects appear to stand trial. We all hope that this will be the first step towards the lifting of the sanctions and towards the definitive closing of the Lockerbie file.

The imposition of sanctions cannot be unlimited, without a clear objective and a set deadline with a beginning and an end, because that would cause the citizens of the country on which sanctions are imposed to suffer increasingly with the passage of time. Thus sanctions, to have an effect, must have an objective and a set deadline.

The issue of the trial of the two accused, according to the United States-United Kingdom initiative accepted by Libya, involves a number of legal procedures, and we hope that the parties concerned will reach agreement thereon. We hope also that adequate preparations will be made in order for the trial to take place in a positive atmosphere, thus assuring the parties and the international community that the desired results will be achieved.

In this context, we reaffirm the need for cooperation by the parties concerned in making the arrangements necessary for the trial to take place and reach a successful conclusion. That will make it possible to close the Lockerbie file and lift the longstanding sanctions so that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya may resume its national development and its role in the international community's efforts towards international peace and security.

Mr. Sáenz Biolley (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are meeting today to adopt a creative solution to the conflict that arose following the reprehensible terrorist attacks on Pan Am flight 103 and UTA flight 772, a solution that will allow for a prompt end to be put to the sanctions regime imposed by the Security Council on Libya through its resolution 883 (1993). Today we will adopt a draft resolution that will allow for the immediate reintegration of Libya into the international community.

At the outset we must not forget that the imposition of the sanctions regime against Libya is the result of two very serious criminal acts carried out against two commercial airliners that took the lives of 441 innocent people and caused thousands of families pain and suffering. Those acts are crimes that cry out for justice. Costa Rica today remembers those victims and, by adopting this draft resolution, reaffirms its faith in the validity of law and justice as the best tribute that we can pay to those victims.

My delegation has repeatedly reaffirmed that preventing, combating and eliminating international terrorism in all its forms and manifestations are essential elements in the maintenance of international peace and security. Similarly, we have reiterated my Government's condemnation of all States that provide safe haven, support or assistance to those who plan, organize or participate in terrorist acts. We believe that those activities should be condemned and combated by the international community as a whole and that they must be prevented and punished using all available legal and political means, such as international legal and judicial cooperation, but without resorting to unilateral actions.

In this context, we welcome in particular and will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us, because it represents an intelligent legal solution to a longstanding legal problem. This draft resolution will make it possible for those accused of committing the terrorist act against Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie to be brought to justice in a Scottish court sitting in the Netherlands.

Costa Rica also sees this draft as the logical yet overdue result of a sanctions regime and the process of dialogue that it must stimulate. My delegation has stated on several occasions that although we accept sanctions as a means of legitimate collective defence for the international community, recognized and established in the Charter of the United Nations, any sanctions regime must be carefully designed to comply with its prime objective of modifying illegal policies of a given Government. That is the sole valid objective of sanctions. From that standpoint, sanctions must always be a temporary regime; in no circumstances can they become a form of punishment for the innocent civilian population. For that reason and in order to assist the State subject to sanctions in modifying its illegal policies, any sanctions regime must be accompanied by active and ongoing dialogue between the parties. Only in this way can that State be reintegrated into the international community.

In this particular case my delegation wishes to express its gratitude for the considerable contributions made by the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement and for their useful and positive input into this process of dialogue. It is thanks to them and to their creative contributions that today we are able to adopt this draft resolution. It was in those forums that the basic idea arose for the agreement we are adopting today and which Costa Rica has consistently supported in recent months.

Likewise we wish to express our gratitude for the goodwill of the United Kingdom and the United States in accepting this proposal and in allowing justice to pursue its course in the best interests of the victims of those regrettable incidents.

We welcome the kind offer of the Netherlands to host this court, and we have confidence in the guarantees it has provided regarding the accused as well as the participation of international observers who will bear witness to impartiality of the proceedings.

We express our satisfaction at the decision by Libya to accept this solution fully and without conditions. In this context, we recall the words of Mr. Muntasser, the Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, who on 20 March 1998 in this very forum affirmed that Libya agreed to the accused being tried in The Hague by Scottish judges in accordance with Scottish law, and reaffirmed its acceptance of any of the alternatives proposed by the League of Arab States. Costa Rica has no doubt that the Libyan authorities will keep their word.

Finally, Costa Rica reiterates its full trust in the Scottish judicial system and in the European system of numan rights, which will guarantee, as stated by Messrs. Dumbutshena and Schermers in their report, absolute respect for the fundamental rights of the accused and the strictest compliance with the basic principles of due process.

Mr. Dangue Réwaka (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): The decision of the American and British Governments to agree to have the two Libyans suspected of carrying out the attacks against UTA flight 772 and Pan Am flight 103 tried in the Netherlands by Scottish judges in accordance with Scottish law responds to one of the proposals made on several occasions by both the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States. We can only welcome this decision.

In fact, this decision may make possible a resolution of this dispute, which has lasted for 10 years and which has threatened to affect international relations.

Similarly, it gives hope to the families of victims, who have waited for so long for justice to be done, and to the Libyan people, who have suffered so much from the negative effects of sanctions.

For our part, we are convinced that the parties will do their utmost to ensure that a solution is found to the technical issues inherent in the specific nature of the court provided for in paragraph 2 of the draft resolution before us which will lead the Council to lift the measures taken in accordance with resolutions 748 (1992) of 31 March 1992 and 883 (1993) of 8 November 1993.

Finally, we request the Secretary-General to ensure that all security conditions will be guaranteed for the two accused upon their arrival in the Netherlands and throughout the trial. It is in this spirit that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

Mr. Shen Guofang (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): China has all along called for all the parties concerned to take a flexible approach and respond to the constructive proposals by the Arab League and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) so as to find an early solution to the Lockerbie issue. On the basis of this position, the Chinese delegation welcomes the latest positive development on the issue and the spirit of compromise displayed by all the parties concerned. We express appreciation to the Arab League, the OAU and the parties for their effective work over this long period.

The facts prove that only by pursuing peaceful diplomatic efforts and cooperation can effective ways be found to solve international disputes.

We hope that all parties involved in the Lockerbie case will continue to act in a positive and flexible spirit and, through dialogue and consultations, will reach an agreement on all the details, with a view to starting the trial proceedings as soon as possible.

China is strongly opposed to any form of terrorism. We must strengthen international cooperation to eradicate this scourge. We condemn the disaster over Lockerbie, which occurred 10 years ago, and we are deeply concerned about the long delay in resolving the case.

We hope that the draft resolution before us will further promote cooperation among all the parties and facilitate the early determination of truth so that perpetrators will be punished in accordance with the law, international justice will be upheld and the families of the victims will feel that justice has been served.

The Chinese delegation hopes that the current positive development on the Lockerbie case will facilitate the early lifting of sanctions against Libya. The

humanitarian consequences for the Libyan people of the protracted sanctions cannot be ignored. It is our hope that the latest development and the cooperation from Libya will make it possible for the Council to take an early decision on the lifting of sanctions.

For these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

We would like to thank the sponsors of the text for having incorporated some of our proposals. However, I would like to point out that some elements of the text could have been improved, so as to create a better climate for resolving this question. We regret that the sponsors have not incorporated some other constructive proposals from our side in the text.

Finally, I would like to repeat that there has been no change in China's reservations concerning resolutions 748 (1992) and 883 (1993) referred to in the text.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Slovenia.

Slovenia warmly welcomes the decision by the United Kingdom and the United States to agree to an arrangement to hold the trial of the two accused Libyan nationals in the Lockerbie case before a Scottish court sitting in the Netherlands. Slovenia also commends the Government of the Netherlands for its willingness to facilitate such a trial.

We believe that this constructive and innovative arrangement opens a new way towards a final settlement of the Lockerbie case, a settlement long overdue. After almost 10 years since the brutal terrorist attack on the Pan Am plane, there is now renewed hope that justice will be served.

The initiative of holding a trial in the Netherlands before the panel of Scottish judges and under Scots law corresponds to one of the options which have been advocated as proposals for a possible solution by the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Indeed, Libya itself has repeatedly, including recently, endorsed those options. Therefore, there is every reason to expect that Libya will embrace the present initiative.

The United Nations has an important role to play in this development. With the adoption of the draft resolution before us, the Security Council will pave the way for a trial by enabling the countries concerned to take all the necessary steps to implement the initiative. In addition, the draft resolution requests the Secretary-General to assume a pivotal role in assisting in the arrangements for the safe transfer of the two accused, as well as to nominate international observers to attend the trial.

The initiative presented to the Security Council has been meticulously elaborated. We are confident that it provides for a fair and impartial trial, with all the necessary guarantees. It also renews and strengthens the prospect of the suspension and, ultimately, lifting of the sanctions imposed against Libya.

It is now up to the Libyan side to seize this opportunity and do its part for the success of this initiative. We note with satisfaction the statement issued yesterday by the General People's Committee for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation announcing the acceptance by Libya of this development. We were glad to hear this position reiterated by the representative of Libya tonight. We strongly call upon the Libyan Government to ensure promptly the appearance of the two accused in the Netherlands for the purpose of trial. In so doing, Libya would fulfil its own promises. Moreover, this is the way for Libya to achieve suspension and the lifting of the sanctions, which would bring an end to the unnecessary suffering of its people.

Finally, I wish to emphasize that the draft resolution proposed for action tonight represents an important contribution to the work of the Security Council. It provides an example of a wise decision, opening up new opportunities for the resolution of several problems on the Council's agenda. The Council should be able to act with the same wisdom whenever required. Slovenia will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1998/809.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Bahrain, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, France, Gabon, Gambia, Japan, Kenya, Portugal, Russian Federation, Slovenia, Sweden, United Kingdom of

Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1192 (1998).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland): The terrible acts of terrorism this month in Nairobi, in Dar es Salaam and in Omagh in Northern Ireland are a stark reminder that terrorism spares nobody. They also remind us that terrorism will not be defeated unless those responsible are brought to justice.

It is almost 10 years since Pan Am flight 103 was blown up over the town of Lockerbie in Scotland. In this, and in the UTA bombing, a total of 440 innocent people were killed. These were among the most savage acts of terrorism and premeditated mass murder. For almost 10 years the families of the victims have been seeking justice.

It is seven years since warrants were issued for the arrest of two Libyan nationals in connection with the destruction of Pan Am 103. Since then, Libya has persistently failed to carry out its obligation to hand over the two accused for trial despite binding resolutions of this Council requiring it to do so. In March 1992 the Security Council demanded that the accused be handed over for trial. For six years Libya has disregarded its obligation as a Member of the United Nations to comply with that demand.

Over the years my Government gave repeated assurances about the guarantees for the accused under Scots law. Throughout this same period Libya has repeatedly stated that it would accept a trial before a Scottish court sitting in a third country. Mr. Omar Muntasser, Foreign Minister of Libya, said only last January in a letter to the President of the Security Council [*S/1998/5, annex*] that Libya

> "accepted the proposal of the League of Arab States that the two suspects should be tried by a court in a neutral country and ... that they should be tried at The Hague by Scottish judges and in accordance with Scottish law".

During the Security Council debate held last March [3864th meeting] the Libyan Foreign Minister said that the concerns about trial in Scotland of the lawyers for the two suspects related solely to the venue and have nothing to do with the judges or the law.

That the accused would receive a fair and impartial trial in Scotland with all due safeguards was confirmed by the independent experts appointed by the Secretary-General to examine Scottish legal procedures last December. We would still prefer that the two accused submit themselves to a trial before a Scottish court in Scotland. Persons accused of terrorism have no right to determine their place of trial. Nevertheless, the British Government has also been mindful of the interests of the families and of justice. We concluded finally that in order to bring to an end the years of waiting for the relatives of the victims of Lockerbie, it would be possible to arrange for a Scottish court to sit in the Netherlands. The joint United States/United Kingdom letter of 24 August and its attachments set out in transparent detail the precise arrangements whereby a Scottish court could sit outside Scotland. Today's resolution provides the basis for the necessary changes to British and Dutch law. I wish to record the British Government's deep gratitude to the Government of the Netherlands for responding positively to our request to hold the Lockerbie trial in the Netherlands.

Let no one think that this was an easy decision politically to take or legally to implement. We were conscious of the desire of the international community for justice and for an end to the stalemate. We have therefore acted on the proposal of the Organization of African Unity and the Arab League, and we have taken the necessary steps and placed our initiative before the Security Council.

The adoption of this resolution is an opportunity to resolve the matter with justice in a manner acceptable to the families and to all the parties concerned. It is also the moment of truth for Libya.

For years Libya has promised that it would accept a trial under Scottish law with Scottish judges in a third country. That way forward is now open to them. We have noted the Libyan Government's statement of 26 August that they will deal positively with this initiative. We also heard the Libyan Permanent Representative state clearly his Government's acceptance that the two accused be tried in a Scottish court in the Netherlands by Scottish judges under Scottish law. We welcome this. But what is now required is that Libya should without delay confirm through the United Nations Secretary-General its clear

and unequivocal acceptance of this and its willingness to do so speedily and without prevarication. The arrangements for the trial are clear, and there are no hidden conditions. The central requirement is the delivery of the accused to the Netherlands. The resolution makes clear that it is Libya's responsibility to ensure the appearance of the accused in the Netherlands. If the Government of Libya is willing to do this without delay, everything else will flow from that.

The resolution now adopted says clearly that sanctions will be suspended as soon as the Secretary-General is able to confirm that the accused have been delivered to the Netherlands and that the requirements of French justice have also been met. The Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States have stated their commitment to that clearly in our letter to the Secretary-General. Furthermore, once Libya accepts the proposal in its entirety we are prepared to do everything necessary to implement speedily the legal and other arrangements.

Respect for the role and decisions of the Security Council is a basic obligation and a cornerstone of international order. It is the responsibility of the whole international community to stand firm on terrorism and to pursue justice for the victims of acts of international terrorism. By this resolution the Security Council is upholding those principles. We hope and trust that those who advocated this solution will now help to deliver it.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 11.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3921

Security Council

Fifty-third Year

Provisional

3921st Meeting

Friday, 28 August 1998, 11.30 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Türk	(Slovenia)
Members:	Bahrain	Mr. Buallay
	Brazil	Mr. Felicio
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Costa Rica	Mr. Sáenz Biolley
	France	Mr. Thiebaud
	Gabon	Mr. Dangue Réwaka
	Gambia	Mr. Touray
	Japan	Mr. Konishi
	Kenya	Mrs. Odera
	Portugal	Mr. Monteiro
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Sweden	Mr. Dahlgren
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Richmond
	United States of America	Mr. Burleigh

Agenda

The situation in Afghanistan

98-85713 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Afghanistan

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Afghanistan, Austria, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkey and Uzbekistan, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ghalib (Afghanistan) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. Manz (Austria), Mr. Saha (India), Mr. Nejad Husseinian (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Kazykhanov (Kazakhstan), Mr. Oussoupov (Kyrgyzstan), Mr. Akbar (Pakistan), Mr. Alimov (Tajikistan), Mr. Vural (Turkey) and Mr. Vohidov (Uzbekistan) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1998/810, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Costa Rica, France, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Portugal, the Russian Federation, Slovenia, Sweden, Tajikistan, Turkey, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Uzbekistan.

The first speaker is the representative of Austria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Manz (Austria): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia — and the associated country Cyprus, as well as the European Free Trade Association countries members of the European Economic Area, Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway, align themselves with this statement.

The European Union is gravely concerned at the latest fighting and at the escalation of the conflict in Afghanistan. We have always held the view that there is no military solution to this conflict, and that only a political settlement aimed at the establishment of a fully representative, broad-based transitional government, can lead to peace and reconciliation. We therefore call on all factions to agree an immediate ceasefire and enter negotiations under United Nations auspices.

The fighting is again causing enormous suffering for the Afghan people and adds to their misery, while human rights, fundamental freedoms and international humanitarian law continue to be violated with impunity. We are deeply concerned at new reports of the killing, harassment and displacement of innocent civilians. The European Union is particularly concerned about the situation of the civilian population of the Hazarajat region, where tens of thousands have already been at risk as a result of severe food shortages in the last few months. We are very anxious about the consequences of the latest fighting for the Hazara and strongly urge the Taliban to refrain from all acts of indiscriminate violence, especially against civilians, and from using humanitarian aid as a weapon against the civilian population.

The European Union strongly condemns the armed attack against two staff members of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan on 21 August 1998 in Kabul, which caused the death of an Italian national and left a French national injured. The European Union urges the Taliban in Kabul to take immediate steps to investigate this heinous crime and to keep the United Nations informed of the results of the investigation, as requested by the Secretary-General in his statement of 24 August [press release SG/SM/6681]. The European Union reiterates its strong concern for the security of United Nations personnel, other related personnel, and personnel of non-governmental organizations in

Afghanistan, and recalls the responsibility of all factions to ensure their safety, security and freedom of movement.

The European Union expresses its deep concern at reports of the capture by Taliban militia of the Consulate-General of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Mazar-e-Sharif and at the fate of its personnel and other Iranian nationals, who have been missing since then. The European Union wishes to underline that the obligations ensuing from the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic Relations and on Consular Relations have universal effect and are to be observed under all circumstances. The European Union urges all parties concerned, in particular the Taliban, to help in finding these missing people and in securing their safe passage out of Afghanistan.

The European Union strongly deplores the fact that third parties, instead of using their influence on the warring factions to support the efforts of the United Nations to restore peace, continue to interfere in Afghanistan's internal affairs in a destructive manner by supplying the factions with weapons, fuel, arms, ammunition and other materials for military use. We are also concerned by reports of involvement of military personnel from outside the country.

In this connection, the European Union wishes to reaffirm its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Afghanistan. It strongly urges that all kinds of strategic and military support to Afghan factions, including involvement of foreign military personnel, must cease. Furthermore, the European Union considers it imperative that all countries with an influence on the parties should exercise this influence in a positive and constructive manner, in support of the United Nations peace efforts. We also continue to enforce the embargo on the export of arms, munitions and military equipment provided for in the European Union's Common Position of 17 December 1996 on Afghanistan and urge other countries to adopt a similar policy of restraint.

The European Union is deeply concerned at the various restrictions of access imposed on United Nations humanitarian agencies and international humanitarian organizations which have been operating in Afghanistan, and in particular by the measures which the Taliban have taken in this regard. We deplore the decision by the Taliban in Kabul to forcefully close the offices of international non-governmental organizations, expel foreign workers and imprison non-governmental organizations' local personnel. These decisions have forced the non-governmental organizations to abandon their much-needed help for the innocent civilian population of Kabul, which now has to suffer the consequences.

The European Union is the major donor of humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan. But for the reasons I have mentioned, the European Commission had to suspend common funding by the Community for projects in Kabul. We have helped the Afghan people through years of suffering and conflict, and we earnestly desire to continue helping them. However, aid can continue only where it can be delivered in an effective and principled manner, without discrimination, and where humanitarian organizations are able to carry out their work freely and safely. In this regard, the European Union fully supports United Nations efforts to resolve the crisis in Kabul and to ensure adequate conditions for the delivery of aid, in cooperation with other international humanitarian organizations.

With regard to mine-clearance programmes in Afghanistan, the European Union urges all Afghan parties to support and participate in these programmes. Furthermore, the European Union reiterates its appeal to the Afghan factions to put a complete halt to the use of landmines, which continue to take a very heavy toll on innocent civilians.

The European Union remains gravelly concerned at persistent human rights violations and breaches of humanitarian law in Afghanistan. We are also deeply concerned about the situation of displaced persons in the country, whose number is growing.

The European Union calls on all Afghan factions, in particular the Taliban, to recognize, protect and promote all human rights and fundamental freedoms — including the right to life, liberty and security of persons — and to respect fully the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which has been repeatedly endorsed by the international community, including Afghanistan.

The European Union denounces the continuing discrimination against girls and women in Afghanistan. We urge Afghan factions, in particular the Taliban, to end discriminatory policies and to recognize, protect and promote the equal rights and dignity of men and women, including access to education and health facilities, employment outside the home, personal security and freedom from intimidation and harassment. The European Union will continue to point out the implications of discriminatory policies on the distribution of aid.

The conflict in Afghanistan continues to threaten peace, security and stability in the whole region. By creating favourable conditions for the illicit production and trafficking of drugs, as well as for terrorist bases and training camps, the conflict's repercussions reach far beyond Afghanistan and its neighbours. They cause serious damage to member States of the European Union and many countries elsewhere.

The European Union is therefore committed to reinforce the fight against illegal drugs and terrorism in Afghanistan. Furthermore, the European Union will take account of drug control objectives when considering contributions to development aid. The European Union reiterates its call upon all factions, in particular the Taliban, to close down training camps for foreign terrorists inside Afghanistan and to participate in and support international efforts to combat terrorism.

As expressed in our Common Position of 26 January 1998, the European Union is determined to play an effective role in efforts to stop the fighting and to restore peace, stability and respect for human rights and international principles in Afghanistan.

Let me also, in conclusion, reiterate the European Union's continuing commitment to use all its influence to bring about a sustainable peace in Afghanistan, put an end to foreign intervention and encourage inter-Afghan dialogue, in particular through support for the central role of the United Nations.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Pakistan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Akbar (Pakistan): As the Pakistan delegation is taking the floor for the first time under your presidency, allow me to begin by extending our congratulations to you for your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month.

Coming to the subject which is under discussion today, the Security Council is considering the issue of Afghanistan at a time of significant and far-reaching developments in that country.

The noble Afghan people had hoped to see the restoration of peace after a decade of Soviet occupation of their country. They wanted to rebuild their nation from the rubble of destruction caused by prolonged foreign occupation. Unfortunately, the fulfilment of their dream still remains distant and elusive due to internal strife among Afghans following the withdrawal of Soviet forces. Indeed, the suffering has gone on too long for a valiant and resolute people who have been instrumental in drawing a new course for international politics at the twilight of the cold war. They deserve a respite. There must be an end to their despair and misery.

It is a fact that no other country has suffered more from the conflict in Afghanistan than Pakistan. As a consequence of continued instability in Afghanistan, Pakistan today continues to host more than 1.5 million refugees. We stand almost single-handed in looking after these refugees, in the face of donor fatigue and the indifference of the international community to their plight. Pakistan has also been the victim of terrorism, drug trafficking and arms smuggling as a result of conditions inside Afghanistan.

Like the Afghans themselves, our dream is to see peace established in Afghanistan without any further bloodshed. Pakistan's consistent policy has been the promotion of a peaceful and negotiated settlement in Afghanistan. Pakistan has been the only country which has engaged with all the sides in the conflict.

Soon after assuming office in February 1997, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, launched an Afghan peace initiative. This culminated in the meeting of a steering committee in April this year at Islamabad for the purpose of working out the modalities for an ulema convention that would discuss the problems of Afghanistan in accordance with the shariah and the traditions of the country. While significant progress was made by the steering committee, the process was derailed by minor differences among the Afghan parties.

Not discouraged by this setback, we subsequently made a number of efforts, together with Iran, under the aegis of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the United Nations. Unfortunately, those efforts did not yield any positive results.

I now turn to some recent developments in Afghanistan. Pakistan firmly believes that while the military fortunes or misfortunes of any of the parties are purely an internal affair of the Afghan people, the new ground realities cannot be ignored by the international community. We must be pragmatic in our approach to and understanding of the situation of profound magnitude that has emerged.

Pakistan believes that there is now a distinct possibility of the restoration of peace in Afghanistan. We are encouraged by the positive pronouncements made recently by the Afghan authorities in Kabul that, first, they would grant amnesty to all who surrender; secondly, their agenda was purely domestic and posed no threat to any neighbouring country; and thirdly, the local commanders were under strict instructions not to indulge in revenge killings.

It is our earnest hope that the countries sharing a border with Afghanistan, instead of raising alarms over an imaginary threat, will join Pakistan in promoting peace and harmony in Afghanistan. We must shed our biases and avail ourselves of the window of opportunity in seeking a realistic and practicable solution to the conflict in Afghanistan.

The recent air strikes by the United States in Afghanistan against alleged terrorist targets are likely to complicate the situation. This action has caused deep indignation, irrespective of the motives behind the air strikes. The violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan cannot but be a matter of grave concern.

Terrorism, and the suffering that is caused by the loss of innocent lives, is a heinous crime. We condemn the terrorist acts against the United States embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, and feel the deepest sympathy for the bereaved families. Pakistan itself has been a victim of repeated acts of terrorism, including State-sponsored terrorism planned and executed from across the border. Therefore, we stand shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the world in the firmest condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and in calling for its total eradication.

In dealing with terrorism, recourse to any means other than established principles and international norms is likely to have a negative effect. It could spiral out of control and further complicate matters in a vicious circle of action and retaliation.

It is a historical fact that the people of Afghanistan have never tolerated foreign interference in their internal affairs. Nor have they ever pardoned those who have violated their sovereignty and territorial integrity. The result of any adventurism or mis-adventurism, therefore, would be no different from that of the earliest invasions.

Pakistan has always respected the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. Some countries and Government-controlled media have recently launched an orchestrated campaign of vilification against Pakistan, which is unfortunate. We have repeatedly and categorically rejected any involvement in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. I should like to reiterate our rejection of these allegations as ridiculous and baseless.

We reject any finger-pointing aimed at deflecting the ground realities. In the recent past, our diplomatic missions and personnel in Kabul and Mazar-e-Sharif have come under severe attack. The Pakistan Embassy in Kabul was burnt, and the Consulate in Mazar-e-Sharif was ransacked. We lost one of our Embassy personnel. Our Ambassador in Kabul was manhandled. We did not point an accusing finger at any country. Similarly, we deplore any vilification campaign targeted at Pakistan.

Pakistan is deeply concerned over the reported disappearance of some Iranian diplomats from Mazar-e-Sharif. At the request of Iran, we have approached the Kabul authorities at the highest level. However, I must stress that Pakistan's role and ability to ensure the safety of the Iranian diplomats must not be overestimated, particularly because we did not have any presence in Mazar-e-Sharif at the time it was captured by the Kabul forces.

The time has now come for the international community to engage with the authorities in Kabul. The United Nations must come to terms with the ground realities in Afghanistan. It must increase its credibility as a mediator. Hence, there is now an urgent need for the opening of an effective channel of communication with the true representatives of Afghanistan and its people. Their views must be heard.

The people of Afghanistan are in need of substantial humanitarian supplies to sustain their lives. The international community must listen to the cry of the distressed people of that country. The United Nations agencies and the Member States must provide, on a priority basis, all possible financial, technical and material assistance without any preconditions. In this regard, we welcome the recent agreement between the Kabul authorities and the United Nations facilitating the resumption of the activities of the United Nations agencies and the international organizations in most parts of Afghanistan, including Kabul.

The international community also has a responsibility in helping the Afghans to rebuild their war-ravaged country. We must contribute generously to the reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and to the rehabilitation of the refugees, as this would demonstrate to them the dividends of peace.

In conclusion, Pakistan appeals to the international community to accord formal recognition to the Government in Kabul. The Afghanistan seat at the United Nations must be assumed by the true representatives of the people of that country. The non-existing regime of northern Afghanistan should cease to occupy the United Nations seat forthwith.

The President: I thank the representative of Pakistan for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Tajikistan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Alimov (Tajikistan) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Republic of Tajikistan has actively supported the idea of the adoption of a special resolution of the Security Council on Afghanistan and is one of the co-sponsors of the draft. We welcome the Council's readiness to discuss the dangerous development of the situation in Afghanistan and possible steps to redress it.

It is by no means a matter of indifference to Tajikistan as to the kind of situation that has existed recently in neighbouring Afghanistan in connection with the approach of hostilities directly to our border.

Our concern derives from an analysis of the real facts. The leadership of the Taliban movement has been banking on a military solution to the Afghan problem with the direct and massive support from outside, and this cannot fail to be a source of apprehension regarding possible armed actions by the Taliban on the Tajik-Afghan border. We are profoundly concerned over the reports from Afghanistan regarding new, glaring violations of human rights and international law there, including international humanitarian law. We do not exclude the possibility of an uncontrollable surge of Afghan refugees into our country. We are seriously concerned by the genuine transformation of Afghanistan into an exporter of terrorism and drugs.

We are convinced that the recent events in the north of Afghanistan confirm the timeliness of the decision to establish a Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan "troika" to counteract religious extremism. Support from the territory of the Islamic State of Afghanistan of various types of extremist forces in Tajikistan can have a highly negative effect on the peace process in our country.

The Government of Tajikistan, based on the fact that the external threat must not undermine the process of national reconciliation, has undertaken measures to strengthen the Tajik-Afghan border in those areas in particular danger. In cooperation with partners from the Commonwealth of Independent States, we are doing everything in our power to protect our common interests and security.

We agree with many of the assessments of the present situation in Afghanistan. For our part, we would like to emphasize that the recent events in Afghanistan have time and again clearly highlighted the impossibility of resolving the Afghan conflict by force. No matter how impressive military victories of one or another of the parties to the conflict may seem, they can only lead to a new, more dangerous and even harsher spiral of armed confrontation and make even more remote the prospects for the establishment of peace and stability in Afghanistan.

We believe that in the present situation, the United Nations must, in fact, reaffirm its leading role in efforts to settle the Afghan crisis. There is a need for urgent, practical steps on the part of the United Nations aimed at stepping up assistance for a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan.

Tajikistan, as a member of the group of neighbours and friends of Afghanistan, the Six plus Two group, is ready to support those efforts and to do everything in its power to see that the Afghan groups immediately reach agreement on a ceasefire and engage in serious negotiations under the aegis of the United Nations on ways to achieve a peaceful settlement to the conflict on the basis of the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

In our view, there is now a need to hold in the region high-level meetings of representatives of States members of the Six plus Two group, at which it will be possible to consider a concrete plan for a settlement to the conflict. Tajikistan could render the necessary assistance in holding such a meeting.

In our view, the resolution being adopted today by the Security Council contains a powerful political momentum which should exert the appropriate impact on

all of the Afghan parties and on the States on which it has a bearing. We hope that the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, and the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan, with the support of interested States, will convey this message to those to whom it is addressed so that the peace process at last will replace the endless round of wars and conflicts on the land of the brotherly Afghan people.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of India. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Saha (India): It is my privilege to address the Security Council under your presidency, Sir.

I'll begin by conveying our deep sympathy for the people of Afghanistan. The continuing war has brought immense suffering to them for almost two decades. The fighting which took place this summer, despite appeals and warnings from the international community, has compounded their misery. We are disturbed by reports that human rights have been violated on a large scale, in particular through the killing of children, women and POWs. We expect that the next report of the Secretary-General will give us a fuller picture of what has so far appeared in snatches in the media.

Peace and stability in Afghanistan are in our security interest, as they are for almost all of Afghanistan's neighbours. We have always respected the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. We are particularly concerned, therefore, that all the evidence points to a de facto invasion of Afghanistan by foreign military forces, in support of the Taliban. It also worries us that the fighting is both exploiting and heightening ethnic differences. If this continues, the unity and independence of Afghanistan will be in danger, and if Afghanistan unravels, the impact will be felt throughout the region.

There is an Afghan personality which transcends ethnic consciousness. The international community must sustain and strengthen that personality, not widen ethnic cleavages. A genuine power-sharing arrangement in which all Afghan people are represented must take hold if peace is to return. Territorial gains won through force, trickery or bribery will be short lived if the people who live there are alienated or, as has increasingly been the case, brutalized.

There have been many debates in the Council, in the General Assembly and in meetings organized by the United Nations, where we have heard statements deploring foreign interference in Afghanistan. The Secretary-General has rightly pointed out in his report [S/1998/532] on the situation in Afghanistan dated 19 June 1998 that this is the key to ending the Afghan tragedy. Does the international community, and in particular this Council, have the resolve to take steps that would stop the continuing foreign interference, through the provision of arms, supplies and advisers to the warring factions, and of late, through the direct participation in the fighting of foreign military personnel?

The anarchy in Afghanistan has drawn terrorist groups to it. Though the events of the last few weeks have brought international focus to this aspect of the Afghan problem, for years it has been known that the most ruthless terrorist organizations have used Afghanistan as a base to recruit, train and harbour operatives who were sent out to carry out atrocities abroad. The responsibility for allowing the Afghan territory to be used for training international terrorists falls on those who give them sanctuary.

This is an issue of particular concern to us, as India has been the victim of state-sponsored, cross-border terrorism in a most vicious form. We have, on many occasions, drawn the world's attention to the presence of the training camps in our immediate neighbourhood, in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and Afghanistan, where terrorists are trained and equipped to carry out merciless, violent and subversive activities in India, in particular in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The international community has unfortunately been silent or indifferent to these developments and unable to agree on concerted efforts to tackle the menace of international terrorism, in our region or elsewhere.

The crisis in Afghanistan has three main elements. The first is the continuing war, fomented and sustained by foreign interference. The second is that Afghanistan has been turned into a haven for international terrorism. The third is the lack of respect for international norms and human rights in the areas controlled by the Taliban.

On the first element, the countries that have instigated and participated in the Afghan fighting should realize that a resolution can come only through peaceful means, in direct negotiations between Afghan factions under United Nations auspices, aimed at achieving mutually acceptable solutions that accommodate the rights

and interests of all ethnic, religious and political groups of Afghan society. These countries should encourage the factions whom they support to return to the negotiating table without delay and preconditions, and cooperate with the aim of creating a broad-based and fully representative Government which would protect the rights of all Afghans and observe the international obligations of Afghanistan.

On the second issue, the international community perhaps now realizes the magnitude and the ramifications of the problem caused by the presence and activities of foreign mercenaries and their foreign patrons, who have not only destabilized Afghanistan but also made it a seminary for international terrorists. However, selective unilateral action cannot solve the problem of international terrorism. Only an effective international cooperative effort to identify and act against those responsible for international terrorism — whether individual terrorist groups or States — will succeed.

On the third issue, a condemnation of the violation of international norms of conduct is not sufficient. The international community must act together now to mobilize the human rights machinery to ensure the observance of internationally recognized human rights in all of Afghanistan. The perpetrators of gross and systematic violations of human rights must not be given the international legitimacy they crave. This would be an appropriate message to convey as we prepare to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The President: I thank the representative of India for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Nejad Hosseinian (Islamic Republic of Iran): I would like to express our appreciation to you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting of the Security Council to consider the situation in Afghanistan, which is alarming on both political and humanitarian grounds. We have full confidence in your ability and diplomatic skills to steer the work of the Council successfully so that it can fulfil its obligation under the Charter in the face of this threat to regional and international peace and security. I also wish to thank Ambassador Sergey Lavrov for his leadership of the Council in July.

The escalation of conflict and tension and the further spread of lawlessness resulting from the recent military offensive to the north of Afghanistan by the Taliban has justifiably caused grave concern for most neighbours of Afghanistan and for the rest of the international community. This concern stems from the display of absolute disregard by the Taliban for the wishes of the international community, as manifested by the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy for the rejection of further bloodshed and the attempt to find a political settlement in which the views of all Afghan people are taken into account. The international concern also stems from the recognition of the time-honoured fact that Afghanistan, as a country with a multi-ethnic, multicultural and fiercely independent population, cannot be ruled by a single group, particularly when that group is widely believed to have been organized, supported and patronized by foreign powers.

The Afghan people have made it amply clear in their history that they will not tolerate direct or indirect foreign domination, no matter what the cost. This is where the problem lies. Otherwise, it should make little difference to Afghanistan's neighbours or to the rest of the world which group rules the country as long as it respects the basic principles of human rights and the rules of inter-State relations.

It may be trite to say so, but trite or not, we continue to believe that the problem in Afghanistan has no military solution and that persisting to seek a military victory will only perpetuate the internecine violence in that war-torn country and will fail, and fail miserably, to bring peace and normalcy to the deserving people of Afghanistan. In our opinion as a neighbour, even if the Taliban succeed in getting control of the entire land of Afghanistan, they will not be able to rule over all the Afghan people, who are of different ethnic backgrounds and political and religious persuasions. Unfortunately, therefore, the problems in Afghanistan will continue to plague the Afghan people, the region and elsewhere.

Very little is known about the record, background and operations of the Taliban in the recent political history of Afghanistan before they suddenly surfaced as a well-equipped and well-financed militia group in Afghanistan. Their emergence and their mode of operation have raised serious questions — for the Afghan people and for the region — about their independence and future agenda. The reports of foreign assistance to the Taliban in the form not only of the supply of arms and

ammunition, but also of logistics, planning and foreign military personnel in the last few years, and particularly during the recent Taliban offensive, have strengthened the general suspicions about them. They are ostensibly students of religion who have now learned to fight, drive tanks and fly jet fighters and helicopters. That is a proposition that other people in Afghanistan and the region find difficult to believe. The Taliban's history and emergence are suspicious, but their practice since then is disconcerting and outright threatening.

The daily reports of abuse and gross violations of human rights, particularly against women and girls in the name of Islam; the murders and constant harassment of foreign relief workers and United Nations staff; the forced displacement of the Afghan people on ethnic and religious grounds, which has been referred to as Taliban-style ethnic cleansing; the daily and indiscriminate bombardments of civilians and defenceless people in Bamian and Hazarajat where the Taliban have blocked the transit of urgent foodstuffs and other humanitarian aid for months, leading to massive starvation and death; the unbridled cultivation of and traffic in drugs to meet the increasing demand for cash to pay for Taliban offensive operations; and the harbouring and instigation of terrorist elements and terrorist organizations are routine and reflect the status of the Taliban and the conditions under which the Afghan people continue to resist. These issues are quite worrisome to the international community, and they destabilize and threaten the region.

The Islamic Republic of Iran respects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan, a country we would like to see continue its proud heritage of political independence and non-alignment. The fate of Afghanistan will be determined by the Afghan people themselves. They will have to make the political decision to opt for peace. Peace cannot be imposed on Afghanistan from abroad or by outside forces. In this connection, the Islamic Republic of Iran, like most other neighbours of Afghanistan and the rest of the international community, earnestly believes that as long as a lasting peace has not been achieved in Afghanistan — a peace which can be achieved only through political negotiation under United Nations auspices and with the help of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), leading to the establishment of a Government that is representative of all the Afghan people — the world as a whole, and the neighbouring countries in particular, will continue to suffer and be threatened as a result of a number of continuing and heightened problems.

As a neighbour, Iran is seriously concerned about the following threats: first, continued violence close to its borders; secondly, the danger of violence and conflict spilling over into its territory; thirdly, the danger of the flow of more refugees as a result of the escalation of the conflict and of displacement by the Taliban of groups of the Afghan population on ethnic and religious grounds; fourthly, the escalation of drug cultivation and trafficking to and through the region to meet the increasing demand for financing Taliban military offensives and rule by force; and fifthly, the continued presence and activities of terrorist elements and terrorist organizations in that country.

In the light of these destabilizing dangers and in order to send a strong message to the Taliban that their pursuit of a military solution is not acceptable to the international community, and that they will continue to be viewed unfavourably as long as they disregard the wish of the international community and the call by the United Nations for a political settlement in which the interests of all Afghan groups are taken into account, my Government co-sponsored the draft resolution under consideration in the Council.

My Government has a greater stake in this draft resolution. The plight of the personnel of the Consulate-General of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Mazar-e-Sharif, of the correspondent of the Islamic Republic News Agency and of many Iranian relief workers continues. The capture of the Iranian Consulate-General and the abduction of its personnel by the Taliban have been condemned by many States as gross violations of the basic principles and recognized norms of international law.

I would like to refer to Security Council document S/1998/776 of 19 August 1998, in which the circumstances of the capture of the Consulate by the Taliban offensive forces in Mazar-e-Sharif and the names of the Iranian captives are set out. I wish to add that the taped conversation between the head of our Consulate-General in Mazar-e-Sharif and the Foreign Ministry in Tehran when the Consulate was captured by the Taliban forces at 14.30 hours on 8 August is available. The sound of automatic-rifle fire can clearly be heard in the background.

I wish to stress that the continued detention of the Iranian nationals by the Taliban is unacceptable to the Islamic Republic of Iran. We certainly hope that the demand by the Security Council for their immediate

release and safe and dignified passage out of Afghanistan is heeded by them. We call upon other Governments to do more and to use whatever influence they may have over the Taliban to persuade them to release the Iranian captives without further delay. We are grateful to the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy, Mr. Brahimi, for their efforts to secure the release of the Iranian captives, and we call upon them to redouble their efforts in this humanitarian issue.

The President: I thank the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Turkey. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Vural (Turkey): There seems to be no end to the tragic suffering of the Afghan people, and the recent developments have compounded this painful situation. In addition to the extensive human suffering and destruction, the current situation poses a growing threat to regional and international security. That is why my delegation and Government share the grave concern expressed in the draft resolution presented to the Security Council.

Turkey has deep-rooted historical and cultural bonds with the people of Afghanistan and with its neighbours. The painful situation on the ground and its implications are felt very deeply in Turkey by the Turkish people and Government.

Information regarding human rights violations, especially against women and girls, in the area under the control of the Taliban, the execution of civilians and prisoners of war, efforts to change the demographic structure of Afghanistan, and the displacement of populations from North to South are extremely worrying. These acts are deplorable. Crimes against United Nations personnel and the situation of the members of the Consulate-General of Iran in Mazar-e-Sharif must be urgently addressed.

Turkey is also concerned for Afghanistan's neighbours. Their suffering from drug trafficking, the influx of refugees and political tension originating from the crisis in Afghanistan seems to be increasing. The political atmosphere in the region has begun to deteriorate. Such a trend could impair overall stability in the region.

The recent military campaign of the Taliban cannot be a substitute for a political solution. Military victories achieved with external support are an illusion. They can provide neither a lasting nor a viable solution. This is a lesson learned from the history of Afghanistan over the last few centuries. A political dialogue among the Afghan people is as necessary as ever. A broad-based government in which all groups are represented remains the only instrument that can lead the country to a lasting peace.

Collective diplomatic efforts, with the United Nations in the central role, continue to be the most efficient instrument to encourage the Afghan parties to participate in dialogue and achieve a solution. The failure of the very valuable efforts made last spring by the United Nations and by a number of interested countries should not discourage the international community. Enhanced bilateral diplomatic activity between the interested countries can also contribute to the process. The Organization of the Islamic Conference should maintain its useful cooperation with the United Nations regarding Afghanistan.

It is my delegation's belief that today's draft resolution is a good framework on which future diplomatic activities can be based. It includes almost all the elements which can lead the Afghan parties to a way out of the deadlock. Initial political dialogue among the parties, aiming at a broad-based government, should be followed by the consideration of concrete measures. These should include the demilitarization of Afghan cities, the prevention of the supply of arms, the assignment of civilian police forces, and the dismantling of the camps harbouring extremists and terrorist elements, most of them non-Afghans.

The pledge of the international community to assist in the reconstruction of Afghanistan once peace is established is most valuable. The Afghan parties must seize this opportunity. Turkey remains committed to contributing to the future rehabilitation of Afghanistan.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Uzbekistan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Vohidov (Uzbekistan): Today, the Parliament of Uzbekistan had a meeting at which deep concern was expressed regarding the continuing military action in Afghanistan; the Parliament considered that this military action poses a major threat to international and regional

peace and security, particularly in the region of Central Asia.

We strongly support the preservation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. Uzbekistan has strong confidence that there is no military solution to the Afghan conflict and that it can be settled only through peaceful negotiations among all Afghan parties. Uzbekistan calls upon those parties to refrain from further hostilities and to come to the negotiating table. The Republic of Uzbekistan is confident that all parties to the Afghan conflict should be involved in a peace process aimed at the formation of a broad-based and fully representative government of Afghanistan.

One of the main concerns of my Government is the continuing supply of arms and ammunition to the parties to the Afghan conflict and the unabated foreign interference in Afghanistan. We are also confident that it is necessary to cease such interference immediately. It is a fact that continuing instability in Afghanistan creates conditions favourable to the further spread of terrorism and the illegal production and trafficking of drugs.

We are deeply concerned at the deteriorating humanitarian situation in Afghanistan and hope that the Afghan parties will do everything possible to create the conditions necessary for the United Nations and other international humanitarian organizations to provide humanitarian assistance to all in Afghanistan who are in need of it. We condemn violations of universally recognized norms of international law and international humanitarian law in Afghanistan in the field of the treatment of prisoners of war and non-combatants in Afghanistan.

Uzbekistan believes that the United Nations must continue to play its central and impartial role in international efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the Afghan conflict.

Uzbekistan reiterates its position that the activities of the Six plus Two group, one of the main mechanisms for considering the situation in Afghanistan, are very important towards the achievement of peaceful resolution of Afghan conflict. In that connection, on behalf of my Government, I would like to reaffirm the proposal of Uzbekistan that a meeting of the Six plus Two group be held in the region. We believe that such a meeting could make a positive contribution to a political settlement of the Afghan conflict. Tashkent is ready to host the meeting.

Taking into consideration all that I have said, the Government of the Republic of Uzbekistan supports the draft resolution on Afghanistan now before the Security Council, and requests that Uzbekistan be considered as a sponsor of the draft resolution.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Kazakhstan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kazykhanov (Kazakhstan) (*interpretation from Russian*): Kazakhstan expresses its grave concern over the escalation of hostilities in Afghanistan. The ongoing armed conflict in that country poses a serious threat to regional and international security, and is accompanied by massive violations of human rights. One alarming symptom of this is the evacuation from Afghanistan of personnel of United Nations humanitarian agencies and other international humanitarian organizations; this could exacerbate the already drastic humanitarian situation in that country.

Kazakhstan firmly condemns the recent killing of two Afghan staff members of the World Food Programme and of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Jalalabad, and of the Military Adviser to the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan in Kabul.

We also share the serious concern of the Member States of the United Nations regarding the fate of the diplomats and staff members of the Consulate General of Iran in Mazar-e-Sharif and other Iranian citizens seized in Afghanistan.

On 15 August, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbaev, made a special statement in which he called on the Afghan parties to the conflict to cease hostilities. The head of our Government voiced the hope that the conflict would not extend beyond the borders of Afghanistan. In case of the emergence of a threat to the external borders of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in that region, Kazakhstan — together with the States parties to the Treaty on Collective Security of the CIS — retains the right to undertake all necessary measures to strengthen the security of the external borders of the Commonwealth within the framework of that Treaty.

In its practical actions regarding the situation in Afghanistan, Kazakhstan bases itself on the need to agree

upon all actions with the States parties that attended the meeting held in Almaty on 4 October 1996.

The current events in Afghanistan seriously threaten to destabilize the situation in Central Asia. Therefore, on the initiative of the President of Kazakhstan, on 22 August 1998 a meeting was held in Tashkent of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Defence of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, during which they discussed issues linked to the exacerbation of the situation in Afghanistan and its possible impact on the region of Central Asia.

In supporting the efforts of the United Nations aimed at the cessation of the conflict in Afghanistan and the preservation of Afghanistan's territorial integrity, Kazakhstan expresses its firm commitment to the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on Afghanistan. Throughout the conflict in Afghanistan our country has consistently favoured having the United Nations play the central role in a settlement. This position of Kazakhstan remains unchanged. Kazakhstan firmly condemns any foreign interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and supports the appeal for an immediate cessation of the delivery of military supplies from outside and halting active military support to the factions in Afghanistan.

Kazakhstan is in favour of a speedy, peaceful solution to the conflict in Afghanistan. In our view, only by taking into account and respecting the interests of the various ethnic, religious and political groups in Afghanistan can we ensure the stability of the political system, as is attested to by the history of that country. Allow me once again to express the hope that this discussion of the question of Afghanistan in the Security Council will yield positive results for the settlement of the conflict and will assist in putting an end to a war that has gone on for many years.

The President: The representative of Pakistan has asked for the floor. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Akbar (Pakistan): We are grateful to you, Mr. President, for giving us the floor for a second time to set the record straight on a matter of crucial importance to the Security Council itself, to Pakistan and to the international community. The matter to which we are referring has been under consideration by the Security Council for the last 50 years. We deeply regret that another effort was made by India today to distort the facts, which are well known to the Security Council, as it has been the guardian of its own resolutions which it passed 50 years ago.

We would like to remind the Council that, in accordance with its resolutions of 50 years ago, the state of Jammu and Kashmir is a disputed territory. The Council had promised the people of the state of Jammu and Kashmir that they would exercise their right to self-determination in a United Nations-supervised plebiscite. This promise, unfortunately, has not been fulfilled.

The Council will know that India has consistently and wilfully obstructed the will of the international community to implement the Council's resolution on the situation in Jammu and Kashmir adopted under the India/Pakistan question. India has deployed more than 600,000 troops in Indian-held Kashmir. These troops have committed the worst kinds of acts of state terrorism against the innocent people of Kashmir. International human rights organizations have catalogued those massive violations of human rights, in which women have been raped, places of religious worship have been desecrated and entire villages have been burned.

India has violated every norm of international behaviour in its ruthless campaign to suppress and eliminate the legitimate struggle of the Kashmiri people and to keep those people under subjugation. It has also extended its acts of terrorism beyond its territory.

We strongly denounce any effort to distort these facts.

The President: The representative of Afghanistan has asked for the floor. I call on him now.

Mr. Ghalib (Afghanistan): What we heard from the Pakistani delegation is nothing but a commitment to the pursuit of a policy of intervention and hegemony based on Pakistan's attitude of blatancy and impunity towards Afghanistan. Taking into account the fact that in the international community there is no longer any kind of ambiguity over the situation in Afghanistan — particularly in the wake of the recent developments in Afghanistan which have fairly framed Pakistan's manifested military involvement in Afghanistan one way or another — my delegation will refrain from further explanations.

It will suffice to say that some of the elements killed in the recent United States missile strikes on the terrorist camps in eastern Afghanistan have been identified by

both intelligence sources and the world news media as Pakistani nationals, either plain-clothes army officers of the Pakistani Government or members of the organizations based in Pakistan evidently engaged in terrorist activities worldwide. With all this in mind, it comes as no surprise to any of us why Pakistan continues to preach that the international community should accord recognition to their mercenaries in Afghanistan, the Taliban.

My delegation cannot conclude without associating itself with the common views expressed by the Member States in their belief that only an immediate halt to the Pakistani interventions in Afghanistan, and thereby the establishment of a broad-based, fully representative Government in the country, will lead to an early return of lasting peace and civility to Afghanistan.

The President: In view of the lateness of the hour, I intend, with the concurrence of the members of the Council, to suspend the meeting now.

The meeting was suspended at 12.50 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3921(Resumption)

Security Council

Fifty-third Year

Provisional

3921st Meeting

Friday, 28 August 1998, 3.15 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Türk	(Slovenia)
Members:	Bahrain	Mr. Buallay
	Brazil	Mr. Amorim
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Costa Rica	Mr. Sáenz Biolley
	France	Mr. Thiebaud
	Gabon	Mr. Dangue Réwaka
	Gambia	Mr. Touray
	Japan	Mr. Konishi
	Kenya	Mrs. Odera
	Portugal	Mr. Monteiro
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Sweden	Mr. Dahlgren
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Richmond
	United States of America	Mr. Burleigh

Agenda

The situation in Afghanistan

98-85719 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting resumed at 3.20 p.m.

The President: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/1998/810) before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The international community is following with deep concern the situation that has arisen in recent weeks in the north of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, where large-scale fighting is continuing. Disregarding the aspirations of the Afghan people for the restoration of peace and the preservation of the integrity of the country, the Taliban have undertaken yet another attempt by force of arms to extend their control over the entire territory of Afghanistan. The will of the international community has thereby been ignored and its efforts to establish an inter-Afghan negotiating process brought to nought.

A new phase of the civil war is destabilizing the situation in the entire region of Central Asia and beyond it. It creates a direct threat to the southern borders of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Such a course is fraught with the most serious consequences for international peace and security. The military expansion of the Taliban movement in the northern region of Afghanistan is being carried out with direct external assistance and the involvement of military personnel in planning and logistical support for Taliban operations, as well as directly in military participation.

This support, rendered despite the repeated appeals of the Security Council and the Secretary-General for it to cease, only further fans the flames of dangerous military confrontation. Foreign interference in the Afghan conflict must cease. Attempts to conceal the truth about such interference or obliquely to justify it by references to the past history of Afghanistan are simply not understood by the international community.

The Russian Federation is deeply concerned over reports coming in from the territories seized by the Taliban about ethnic- and religious-based persecution, ethnically motivated acts of forced displacement of large segments of the population and violations of international conventions relating to the treatment of prisoners of war and of the rights of persons not involved in combat.

Russia is shocked at attacks on United Nations personnel in the territory controlled by the Taliban, including the killing of Afghan staff members of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the World Food Programme in Jalalabad, and the Military Adviser to the United Nations Special Mission in Kabul. We demand that the necessary investigation be carried out and that the Taliban enact necessary measures to ensure secure conditions for the activities of international staff which would enable them to return to Afghanistan in the near future and to continue their work there.

Russia strongly condemns the seizure by the Taliban forces of the Consulate-General of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Mazar-e-Sharif and the abduction of the staff of the Consulate-General and other Iranian nationals. We join our voice to the calls for the immediate release of the Iranian nationals and their unimpeded and safe exit from the territory of Afghanistan.

Actions of this kind are further confirmation of the Taliban's total scorn for civilized standards of conduct and disrespect for the basic tenets of international law. They run counter to the age-old traditions and culture of the noble Afghan people.

We note with concern that the continuation of the Afghan conflict creates an environment conducive to international terrorism and to the illegal production of and trafficking in drugs.

In Afghanistan, particularly in the territories controlled by the Taliban, violations of basic human rights are continuing, particularly those of women and girls. We call upon all States to respect the cultural and historical legacy of Afghanistan and to use all their influence in the country to convince the Afghan side of the need to respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all its citizens.

Convinced that there can be no military solution to the Afghan conflict, the Russian Federation strongly supports efforts aimed at a political settlement in Afghanistan that responds to the interests of all Afghans. We support the efforts of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan and advocate the continued active role of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General in the settlement of the conflict.

Russian representatives have consistently pursued this policy in their contacts with the parties to the conflict, both with the northern alliance and with the Taliban. Our position is that such contacts should make the parties to the conflict aware that the expansion of controlled territories by military means will lead neither to a lasting peace in Afghanistan nor to international recognition of those who use such methods.

A comprehensive settlement of the conflict is possible only through establishing a government in Afghanistan that is made up of Afghans themselves and that balances the interests of all segments of the Afghan population, including the representatives of the major political and military forces. We are prepared to cooperate with such a government so that the Afghan economy can be quickly restored and peace and stability can be established in the region and in the country.

All these considerations have been reflected in the draft resolution to be adopted today by the Security Council. The draft resolution also contains guidelines that should help focus international efforts on the priorities of fostering a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan.

In conclusion, we should like to thank all those who have contributed to the reaching of agreement on the draft resolution, which reflects a consensus of the members of the Security Council.

Mr. Shen Guofang (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): As a friendly neighbour of Afghanistan, China is deeply concerned about the latest developments in that country. The escalation of fighting has brought new suffering to the people of Afghanistan and has also jeopardized their national economy and security. We wish to express our deep sympathy and concern. We call upon the various factions in Afghanistan to reach a ceasefire immediately.

Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic country whose ethnic disputes have deep historical roots. This, in addition to the involvement of outside forces, has made the situation in Afghanistan even more complex. We believe that any military advance is but temporary. Both the history and the realities of Afghanistan have demonstrated that military means are not helpful to finding a solution. The resumption of negotiations among all the factions in Afghanistan, under United Nations auspices, is the only way to a solution of the conflict in Afghanistan.

China sincerely hopes that the various factions in Afghanistan will put their national interests and the interests of the Afghan people above everything else. We hope they will put aside their ethnic, religious and political differences and establish a broadly based, representative government so as to achieve peace and stability and rebuild their homes.

The Chinese delegation appreciates the mediation efforts made by Mr. Brahimi, Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, and the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan (UNSMA). We support the United Nations in its continuing to play a central and leading role. After many years of war, the people of Afghanistan are longing for peace and stability.

The resolution of the question of Afghanistan, in the final analysis, rests with the Afghan people themselves. We hope that the international community will respect the choice of the people of Afghanistan. Any action by the Security Council should help push the various factions in Afghanistan to reopen negotiations and to seek solutions for achieving peace and stability at an early date.

On the basis of this principled position, the Chinese delegation participated in the consultations on the draft resolution before us. We wish to thank the sponsors for accepting the amendments made by the Chinese delegation. We will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

We hope that the various factions in Afghanistan will give a positive response to the appeal of the international community. At the same time, we also hope that the international community will make coordinated efforts to prevent arms and other war *matériel* from flowing into the hands of those factions, so as to create favourable external conditions for putting an end to the fighting within Afghanistan.

Mr. Monteiro (Portugal): The Presidency of the European Union has already stated the common views of its member States on this subject. Therefore, I will emphasize only certain elements of my country's position with regard to the situation in Afghanistan.

Since the Council last discussed the disturbing situation in Afghanistan on 16 April 1997, the political and humanitarian situation in the country has deteriorated further. The latest fighting and escalation of the conflict in Afghanistan clearly indicate that at least one of the parties is convinced that it is in a position to take over militarily the whole country.

In reality, the warring factions must recognize that the conflict cannot be settled on the battlefield. Any thought of a conclusive military victory by one party is an illusion. The past 20 years of war in Afghanistan lead us to believe that a military victory by one of the warring parties will not bring the fighting to an end.

Portugal stands for a political settlement in Afghanistan on the basis of the decisions of the General Assembly and Security Council, and for the preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of the country. We therefore call on all factions to agree to an immediate ceasefire and to enter into negotiations under United Nations auspices aimed at achieving a broadly representative Government acceptable to all Afghans.

With the recent escalation of fighting, the humanitarian situation in Afghanistan has deteriorated further. I would like to express our deep concern at this tragic situation in which the Afghan people finds itself. Moreover, recent measures taken by the Taliban resulted in the evacuation of all United Nations humanitarian personnel. The humanitarian impact of the evacuation of humanitarian personnel could be disastrous.

My Government strongly condemns the attacks on United Nations personnel and urges the Taliban to fully investigate the recent attacks against two staff members of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan, which resulted in the death of an Italian national.

Portugal strongly deplores the fact that foreign countries, instead of using their influence on the warring factions positively, continue to fuel the conflict with arms, personnel and logistical support. Although the enmity between the Afghan factions is deep, we are convinced that to a great extent it is foreign intervention that has prolonged the fighting. Like others, we call for an immediate end to such interference.

We remain deeply concerned with the reports of widespread violations of human rights in Afghanistan, in particular the continuing and intolerable discrimination imposed by the Taliban against women. All factions must understand that they are responsible not only for complying with humanitarian law, but also for respecting and implementing international human rights standards regarding each and every citizen in Afghanistan.

We are also particularly alarmed by the fact that the fighting and the polarization of forces is increasingly taking place along ethnic lines, thus making it more complicated to find a peaceful political solution. In this regard, we would like to express our concern over the reported capture by the Taliban of the Consulate-General of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Mazar-e-Sharif and with the fate of the civilian population of the Hazarajat region.

Another two sources of grave concern are drug-trafficking and the continuing presence of terrorists and terrorist training camps in Afghanistan, both factors with far-reaching negative effects inside and outside Afghanistan. They constitute a serious threat to peace and security in the whole region. In fact, these completely intolerable and destabilizing practices represent global threats, and they must cease immediately.

In conclusion, we fully support the draft resolution before us, which we co-sponsor. We urge the Afghan factions to fully comply with it to put an end to the suffering of the Afghan people.

Mr. Richmond (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom shares the grave concerns expressed in the draft resolution before us today, which it has chosen to co-sponsor.

The recent fighting has only prolonged the suffering of the people of Afghanistan and, internationally, has threatened the peace and stability of the region. It has done nothing to achieve a lasting solution to the Afghan crisis. History, old and new, shows us that military conquest is not the answer. Only a political settlement, negotiated between the factions and accommodating the rights and interests of all Afghans, can achieve a durable peace. We therefore strongly support the demand that the Afghan factions stop fighting and enter urgently into negotiations, under United Nations auspices, aimed at creating a fully representative, broad-based government.

One particularly worrying aspect of the current situation is the increasingly ethnic nature of the conflict in Afghanistan. In that context, we share the concern of the Secretary-General's Special Envoy and others about the consequences of the latest fighting for the Hazara community. We urge all factions to ensure the safety of civilian communities, to refrain from any acts of indiscriminate violence and to facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance.

The United Kingdom remains deeply concerned by continuing reports of outside interference in the affairs of Afghanistan. All countries with an influence on the factions in Afghanistan should do more to promote the

cause of regional stability by using their influence to prevent the supply of arms and other military support and to encourage the parties to negotiate.

The crisis in Afghanistan has recently had a direct impact on the international community. The United Kingdom joins in the strong condemnation of the attacks on United Nations personnel, including in particular the incident in which an Italian adviser to the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan (UNSMA) was killed. We extend our condolences to the family and to the Italian Government. We also condemn the capture by the Taliban of the Iranian Consulate-General in Mazar-e-Sharif. We call upon all concerned, and especially the Taliban, to cooperate in investigating the incident in Kabul and in doing everything possible to ensure the safe return of the Iranian diplomats and other Iranian nationals who have been missing since the seizure of the Consulate.

Mr. Konishi (Japan): Japan shares the deep concern of its Asian neighbours and, indeed, of the international community, at the fighting that has continued to rage in Afghanistan for the better part of two decades. The recent escalation of fighting in northern Afghanistan between the Taliban and the various factions allied against it is particularly disturbing. The hostilities are causing additional hardship to the Afghan people, who have already endured unspeakable misery and loss, and pose a grave threat to the stability of the region, particularly as new waves of refugees flow into neighbouring countries.

This year alone, the Security Council has issued three presidential statements stressing that the conflict in Afghanistan cannot be resolved militarily and calling on all parties to cease their hostilities and engage in dialogue. Although Japan was encouraged that direct talks were convened in the context of the ulema meeting process, our optimism did not last long, and the Taliban have now renounced that process and since the beginning of this month have occupied the city of Mazar-e-Sharif and other northern cities, with the result that most Afghan territory is now under their control. These developments leave little doubt that the Taliban, or, for that matter, the other parties to the conflict, are not seriously interested in seeking a peaceful settlement to the conflict.

The draft resolution on which we are about to vote, and of which Japan is a sponsor, reflects the grave concern of the Security Council over the deteriorating situation on the ground. We would like to express our appreciation to the Russian Federation for its initiative in drafting this strong and unambiguous message, and we call upon all the Afghan parties to respond promptly to its demands.

While the United Nations plays the central role in international efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Afghan conflict, Japan also attaches great importance to the efforts of the Six plus Two group, which have the support and confidence of Ambassador Brahimi, the Special Envoy of the Secretary General for Afghanistan. In particular, we welcome the agreement of the group, as contained in the talking points dated 3 March 1998, to strive to check the flow of arms and other supplies to the warring parties. That outside support has only prolonged and intensified the fighting. In this regard, my delegation believes that the importance of cooperation and trust among the members of the Six plus Two group cannot be overstated. We are therefore especially concerned by the seizure by the Taliban of the Consulate-General of Iran in Mazar-e-Sharif and the disappearance of members of its staff and other Iranian nationals in Afghanistan. Such actions threaten to destroy the relations of trust which have been so painstakingly developed within the group, of which Iran is a member. We earnestly hope that the missing persons will be released safely and promptly.

Japan strongly condemns and mourns the loss of Lieutenant-Colonel Carmine Calo, military adviser to the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan (UNSMA), as well as two local staff members of the World Food Programme (WFP) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), all of whom were the victims of gunfire as they carried out their humanitarian and peaceful duties in Afghanistan. On behalf of the Government and people of Japan, I extend my sincere condolences to their families on their loss.

We are also alarmed by reports of air strikes against the city of Bamian on 13 August which, in addition to the human loss they might have caused, also raise the fear that the great Buddhist statue in that area, recognized as part of the world's cultural heritage, has been damaged.

The final point I wish to raise today is one that my delegation has made on previous occasions but which bears repeating. Lasting peace can be established in Afghanistan only through a political process which is accompanied by international reconstruction assistance. This must be a continuous, two-pronged approach. In the conviction that reconstruction assistance is an integral part of the peace process, Japan has decided to host the next meeting of the Afghanistan Support Group in Tokyo

next December, which will address the problems of delivering international assistance in a situation where hostilities continue.

The people of Afghanistan have for far too long been deprived of their right to live in peace and to pursue their livelihoods in a safe and secure environment. Japan will continue to vigorously support efforts to achieve a durable peace in Afghanistan through a comprehensive settlement of the conflict, so that a Government which represents and is supported by all ethnic groups can be established as soon as possible.

Mrs. Odera (Kenya): When we last discussed the situation in Afghanistan, my delegation expressed disappointment at the stalemate in the peace process and expressed the fear that the Taliban had determined that a military solution was the only way to resolve the many political, religious and cultural differences in Afghanistan. That determination has increased the already great suffering of the people of Afghanistan. The Security Council's calls for restraint and negotiation and its appeals for an end to all foreign involvement in the form of overt military and financial support, have fallen on deaf ears.

We meet again today under even more disturbing circumstances. The will to negotiate a peace has given way to an overwhelming need to impose a military solution on a political problem. This approach by the Taliban may seem successful in the short term, but history teaches us otherwise. Indeed, if the Taliban insist on a military approach these short-term gains will eventually unravel, leading to even more turmoil in the country and the region. This is a cause of great concern for us.

Kenya has joined in sponsoring the draft resolution before us because we believe that the Security Council must again convey a clear, unequivocal message to the combatants that the problem in Afghanistan has to be resolved by peaceful means, through negotiation, and not by military means. We are also fully aware that the flow of arms, money and other supplies into Afghanistan has definitely exacerbated the crisis in Afghanistan. Several attempts to address this problem have not been successful. Indeed, in his last report on Afghanistan, the Secretary-General noted that this increasing support had made the Taliban and the United Front believe that they could achieve their goals by force. This deep concern is well expressed in the preambular section of the draft resolution, which deplores the fact that despite repeated pleas by the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General for a halt to the involvement of foreign military personnel and the supply of arms and ammunition to all parties in the conflict, such interference continues unabated. We strongly urge those involved to stop in the interests of long-lasting peace.

This military conflict and its attendant excesses has injured two officials of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan (UNSMA), claiming the life of one. We join in the strong condemnation of this terrible act and join the international community in calling upon the Taliban to investigate this crime. During this time of sorrow Kenya conveys its deepest condolences and most heartfelt sympathies to the family and friends of military adviser Lieutenant-Colonel Carmine Calo of Italy, and to Political Affairs Officer Eric Lavertu of France its best wishes for a quick recovery.

We share the disappointment expressed by others, that the Steering Committee adjourned without completing its work. We believe that the strategy the Secretary-General has laid out, and which was being implemented by Ambassador Brahimi and the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan, is worth pursuing. UNSMA should not give up in frustration, and we encourage it to continue its efforts.

We support the Secretary-General's approach in encouraging the international community to speak with one voice regarding the road map that needs to be followed. We also think that UNSMA's idea of a step-by-step process in confidence-building is worth following up. In fact, the idea of convening a genuine Grand Assembly, or *Loya Jirgah*, to promote a political settlement may also need to be considered. We believe that the principles of national reconciliation it embodies are positive and would enhance a true process of healing and peace.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to thank the Russian delegation for coordinating negotiations on this draft resolution, which we will support. We hope that the combatants will this time take heed and listen to the unanimous voice of the international community.

Mr. Thiebaud (France) (*interpretation from French*): The situation in Afghanistan has greatly deteriorated in recent months; this is marked in particular by new fighting and by the unfolding of a major military offensive by the Taliban. France is particularly concerned at these developments, which run counter to the search for a lasting political settlement to a conflict that seriously threatens regional and international security and

that has caused serious, deep suffering for the civilian population.

The Security Council has already laid down the fundamental principles for a settlement of the conflict in Afghanistan, including in its resolution 1076 (1996). The Afghan parties must put an end to hostilities without delay and without preconditions, and must engage in true political dialogue aimed at achieving national reconciliation. Outside interference, especially in the form of arms supplies, must cease. The United Nations has a central role to play in settling the conflict.

It must be said that no progress can be discerned on any of these points, and that through their obstinacy the Taliban have greatly contributed to the failure to put in place a peaceful settlement of the conflict. This unfortunate fact must not make us indifferent; on the contrary, it must prompt us to do what we are doing today with the consideration of the draft resolution before us: to stand firm, which is the only way to preserve the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Afghanistan in the long term.

France condemns the 21 August attack in Kabul against two United Nations staff members working with the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan. We urgently call upon the Taliban to investigate the circumstances of this heinous act and immediately to inform the United Nations of the results of that investigation. The name of Lieutenant-Colonel Carmine Calo of Italy, who was murdered in a cowardly attack as he worked to promote the cause of peace, may be added to the long list of those who have been the victims in Afghanistan of the most reprehensible intolerance.

We also deplore the flagrant violation of international law and of the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic Relations and on Consular Relations: the occupation by the Taliban of the Consulate-General of the Islamic Republic of Iran at Mazar-e-Sharif. France is gravely concerned at the disappearance of staff members of the Consulate-General and of several other Iranian nationals, and we join in the urgent appeals to the factions, and in particular to the Taliban, to locate these diplomats.

The conditions that prevail in Afghanistan, and in particular the position of the Taliban, have caused the departure from Kabul of non-governmental organizations, United Nations agencies and other international humanitarian organizations. This could lead in coming months to a further exacerbation of the humanitarian situation and of the fate of the Afghan people. Responsibility for this state of affairs lies with those who in Afghanistan have increasingly taken measures that flout fundamental human rights, and in particular the rights of women and girls; with those who have rejected the application of principles set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; with those who have imposed increased constraints upon humanitarian activities and who have deliberately undermined international humanitarian law.

Although everything must be done to facilitate the return to Afghanistan, in conditions of security, of the international organizations and the non-governmental organizations in order to ease the suffering of the civilian population, we consider it to be of paramount importance that the United Nations and the international community not compromise on the question of respect for universally accepted principles.

We cannot fail once again to demand — as does the draft resolution on which the Council will be voting today — that the Afghan factions cease harbouring and training terrorists and their organizations, and that they put an end to the trafficking in illicit drugs.

The French delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution because it expresses the determination of the Security Council, in keeping with its Charter responsibilities, to consider all other measures that might be necessary for the implementation of the draft resolution, and to restore peace, stability and full respect for human rights and international norms in Afghanistan.

Mr. Dahlgren (Sweden): Let me first say that I fully associate myself with the statement made earlier today by the representative of Austria on behalf of the European Union.

More than 19 years of warfare has not brought the Afghan conflict or the suffering of the Afghan people closer to an end. On the contrary, the continued and escalated fighting poses serious and growing threats to international peace and security and has caused extensive human suffering, large-scale material destruction, and refugee flows and other forcible displacements of large numbers of people. The conflict also provides fertile ground for terrorism and illegal drug production and trafficking, with repercussions far outside Afghanistan's own borders.

The Afghan conflict has no military solution. Only a political settlement accommodating the rights and interests of all Afghan ethnic, religious and political groups can provide the basis for a durable solution to the conflict. That is also how the necessary conditions can be created for the much needed reconstruction and development of Afghan society. The draft resolution before us demands that all Afghan factions stop fighting, resume negotiations without delay or preconditions, and cooperate with the aim of creating a broad-based and fully representative government which would protect the rights of all Afghans and would observe the international obligations of Afghanistan. We fully support that demand.

The Afghan conflict continues to be fuelled by arms, ammunition and other military supplies from abroad, as well as by the apparent involvement of foreign military personnel. As the Secretary-General has stated, the key to ending the Afghan tragedy lies in whether or not the international community has the resolve to address its external aspects. Foreign interference has to end. The regional Powers need to talk to each other and build mutual confidence. Only then can the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Envoy and the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan to facilitate a peaceful solution bear fruit. The draft resolution before us calls upon all States neighbouring Afghanistan and other States with influence in that country to intensify their efforts under the auspices of the United Nations to bring the parties to a negotiated settlement. We firmly support that call.

My country remains greatly concerned at the humanitarian situation in Afghanistan. All parties to the conflict must comply fully with their obligations under international humanitarian law. They must take full responsibility for the safety and security of all international and humanitarian personnel, and must ensure safe and unhindered access. Impeding the delivery of humanitarian assistance and using this obstruction as a weapon against the civilian population is a violation of international law. Of equal concern to us are the continued violations of human rights, and especially the discrimination against Afghan girls and women.

For many years, Sweden has been one of the largest donors of humanitarian assistance to the Afghan people. We are ready to continue this assistance when conditions on the ground make that possible. The decision by the Taliban authorities to close the offices of international non-governmental organizations in Kabul, and other restrictions on access, have forced the suspension of assistance, with grave consequences for the population of Kabul itself and beyond. Sweden fully supports further efforts by the Secretary-General and his representatives to reach an agreement with the Taliban in order to make possible the continued delivery of necessary humanitarian aid.

Sweden will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

Mr. Buallay (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation has stressed on many previous occasions the need to resolve the Afghan crisis through dialogue, peaceful means and direct negotiations between all Afghan factions. Escalation, hostilities and resort to force are not the means to resolve that crisis. In this context, we call on all Afghan factions to cease hostilities, to return to the negotiating table and to cooperate in order to reach a comprehensive solution and a durable peace in Afghanistan. We also call on the international community and the States with influence in Afghanistan to intensify their efforts, in cooperation with the United Nations, in order to help the parties reach a peaceful settlement through negotiation.

My delegation reaffirms its full support for the efforts made by the United Nations — as represented by the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General in Afghanistan — as well as for the activities of the United Nations Special Mission in Afghanistan, to facilitate the peace process aimed at obtaining the objectives of national reconciliation and a durable settlement in Afghanistan.

In this context, my delegation appeals to all States, the programmes and specialized agencies of the United Nations and other international organizations to resume providing humanitarian assistance to all those in need in Afghanistan as soon as security conditions permit. We affirm the need to guarantee the safety and security of the personnel of international organizations working for the Afghan people and for peace in the country.

Proceeding from the State of Bahrain's belief in the need to settle political crises through dialogue, direct negotiations and refraining from military force — which can only increase tensions — my delegation will support the draft resolution before the Council today, with the understanding that the interpretation of the last preambular paragraph and the operative paragraph 14 does not prejudice Islamic shariah.

Mr. Sáenz Biolley (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The almost interminable conflict in Afghanistan is once again a cause of outrage and concern for all of us. The disillusionment and frustration that resound from time to time in international forums and meetings have taken on new meaning today. That is why my delegation would like take this opportunity to state the following.

It is inconceivable that small armed bands have plunged this country and the vast majority of its population into an abject state of near-barbarism and that they persecute the population for ethnic or religious reasons.

It is unacceptable for the intolerance of a faction to have brought about the suffering of almost 2.5 million refugees and a similar number of internally displaced persons.

It is intolerable as well for the Taliban faction to violate the human rights of the population — in particular the rights of women and girls — and that they attempt to justify this with the argument of cultural and traditional mores.

It is equally unacceptable for the work of international humanitarian organizations to be thwarted, which condemns the civilian population to greater suffering.

It is deeply alarming that there are still more than 10,000 undetonated anti-personnel mines, which place the lives and safety of the majority of the population at great risk.

It is also unacceptable that international illegal narcotics trafficking is used and promoted to finance the armed struggle and to bring suffering to the people, and that the historical and cultural heritage of the Afghan people is being destroyed to enrich small groups of traffickers.

We are alarmed by that groups of extremists have forced the innocent population to live in degrading conditions and that, in this context, one fourth of the children die before the age of five.

It is unforgivable for women and girls to be denied access to minimal health and education services.

It is intolerable for fundamental principles of international humanitarian law to be violated, that minimal protection is not provided to civilians and non-combatants and that people are forcibly displaced for ethnic or religious reasons.

Furthermore, it is intolerable under any circumstances for United Nations officials to be murdered in cold blood and for the lives and security of United Nations staff and the diplomatic and consular corps to be endangered.

It is alarming that neighbouring countries and countries with influence on the parties are contributing to the conflict rather than seeking a peaceful solution and that there are clear signs of foreign military intervention in the country, in conspicuous violation of that country's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

It is unacceptable for the parties to refuse to negotiate a peaceful resolution of the conflict and to attempt to create delays or set conditions on these negotiations. This situation, which is so clearly in violation of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations, would automatically call for the application of Article 6 of the Charter if it were brought about by a recognized Government.

Costa Rica will be fully prepared to consider the necessary measures to encourage the parties to the Afghan conflict, in particular the Taliban, to respect the minimum standards of human rights and humanitarian international law and to motivate them to find a peaceful resolution of the conflict, as is set out in the draft resolution before us.

For all of these reasons, my delegation has co-sponsored the draft resolution we are considering today and will vote in favour of it. We share the international community's justified distress and concern over the situation prevailing in Afghanistan. We hope that once and for all the Afghan factions will now be rational and sensible and will pursue a civilized dialogue to settle the conflict that is tearing Afghanistan apart.

Mr. Amorim (Brazil): Afghanistan has been afflicted by the scourge of war for almost 20 years. During this period the image of peace seemed to appear on the horizon many times but proved to be just a mirage.

A crossroads of civilizations, Afghanistan has seen many would-be conquerors. In their long history, the Afghans have always shown a deep attachment to their freedom and a profound distaste for foreign interference

in their affairs. Afghanistan is thus key to the peace and stability of a region of unique strategic importance to the rest of the world.

In the draft resolution we are about to adopt, the Security Council reaffirms its commitment to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Afghanistan, as well as its respect for its cultural and historical heritage.

The preservation of the extraordinary diversity which characterizes Afghanistan, and which is reflected in the various expressions of Islamic and other faiths and in a mosaic of ethnic and linguistic communities with close links with other peoples of South and Central Asia, is a necessary condition for a durable peace.

The United Nations has had an important role in helping the Afghan people in this period of conflict. The Organization has acted in an impartial way in the fulfilment of its political mandate, promoting the dialogue among the six neighbours and other interested countries. The United Nations, in cooperation with other organizations, has been instrumental in the provision of much-needed humanitarian assistance.

In order to allow for the return of normalcy to Afghanistan, it is necessary that the Afghan parties re-initiate a process of political negotiation. Both the Government of President Rabbani and the Taliban authorities have a responsibility to work in that direction. It is also necessary that human rights be respected, including the rights of girls and women.

All outside interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan should cease immediately, particularly the presence of foreign military personnel.

The return of the United Nations, in conditions of security, should facilitate the investigation into the alleged massacres. This would be an important step in establishing the facts and bringing justice to that country. Afghanistan should also join the efforts of the international community to combat terrorism and drug trafficking.

No political movement, no matter how much territory it controls, will gain international respectability as long as it is perceived as harbouring terrorist activities. It is also necessary that those in a position of authority ensure the observance of international law, in particular their obligations under the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations and the Geneva Conventions. The officers of the Consulate-General of Iran, who are being held hostage, should be freed immediately.

We should like also to refer in particular to paragraph 6 of the draft resolution, which condemns the attacks on the United Nations personnel in the Taliban-held territories of Afghanistan, including the killing of two Afghan staff members of the World Food Programme and of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Jalalabad, and of the Military Adviser to the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan in Kabul.

The draft resolution we have before us, in favour of which Brazil will vote, represents a call from the international community to the Afghans to renounce any form of violence and settle their differences through negotiation.

Mr. Touray (Gambia): The situation in Afghanistan is of grave concern to my delegation. The recent re-emergence of hostilities in the northern region of the country poses a serious and growing threat to the already fragile peace and security situation in the region. Those offensives are further exacerbated by the increasingly ethnic and sectarian nature of the conflict, resulting in an increase in refugee flows, the forcible displacement of persons and wanton destruction, thus exacerbating the misery and sorrow of an already despondent society.

My delegation was extremely disappointed when we learnt of the capture of the Consulate-General of the Islamic Republic of Iran. We vehemently condemn this act of blatant disregard for international law. We join others in demanding that all parties to the conflict do everything possible to ensure the safe and dignified passage out of Afghanistan of the personnel of the Consulate-General and other Iranian nationals missing in Afghanistan.

Another matter of grave concern to my delegation is the attacks on United Nations personnel. We condemn those acts and join others in calling on the Taliban to investigate them and bring those responsible for these heinous crimes to justice. We also demand that the parties to the conflict do everything possible to ensure the security of United Nations personnel and of international and other humanitarian workers.

The war in Afghanistan is very fluid and for that reason we believe that there is no military solution to this extremely complex conflict. The international community

has expended a lot of resources, time and energy to help the Afghan factions out of this undesirable situation, but the factions remain stubborn. The belligerents must realize that the patience of the international community will soon run out.

In this context, we take this opportunity to call on all the factions to lay down their arms and return to the negotiating table. We believe that with a firm commitment among the factions and with the assistance of the United Nations, a negotiated settlement accommodating the interests of all the Afghan factions can be reached.

My delegation has studied the draft resolution before us. We believe that it is a very balanced one. It states in no uncertain terms the demands and position of the international community. We are in support of it and will vote in its favour.

Mr. Minton (United States of America): The United States emphasizes that no faction in Afghanistan can impose its will on the entire country through military action. A lasting settlement can be achieved only by establishing a representative and broad-based multi-ethnic Government that can effectively govern and honour Afghanistan's international obligations. We take this opportunity to again urge the Afghan factions to work with the United Nations and Special Representative Brahimi to reach this goal.

The factions should also facilitate the delivery of humanitarian aid by the United Nations and non-governmental organizations to all in need, and work to protect the human rights of all Afghans. We are particularly concerned about the women and girls of Afghanistan, who are subject to systematic discrimination and repression. We call upon the factions to respect internationally accepted norms of behaviour in this matter.

As President Clinton has said, terrorism is one of the greatest dangers we face in this new global era. We once again urge the Afghan factions to cease all assistance to terrorists, including providing sanctuary, and to expel them from Afghanistan.

Afghanistan's neighbours should not interfere in that country. In particular, they should not take any actions that could further enlarge or inflame the conflict at this critical time. The United States supports the territorial integrity of Afghanistan and of all of its neighbours. We call on all Afghan parties and all of Afghanistan's neighbours to respect its borders.

We too deplore the tragic deaths of international personnel working in Afghanistan. We extend our deepest condolences to the families of the victims of these crimes and call for efforts to bring those responsible to speedy justice.

The United States is also aware of reports that several Iranians, including diplomatic staff of the Iranian Consulate in Mazar-e-Sharif, have been missing since the Taliban captured that city. While we cannot confirm these reports, we remind the Afghan factions that the holding of diplomats for any reason and at any time is unacceptable, given their special protected status under international law.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Slovenia.

We are gravely concerned about the recent resumption of large-scale fighting in Afghanistan, which is again taking a high toll on the country and its people. However, despite the immense suffering and destruction caused during all the years of fighting, the parties still seem determined to pursue the military option and are not prepared to engage in a serious dialogue to find a peaceful solution to the conflict.

The situation in Afghanistan has the potential to escalate, with an alarming destabilizing effect on the region as a whole. That threat includes both military and non-military aspects, including drug trafficking and the harbouring and training of terrorists.

The illusion of a quick military victory on one side could lead to a protracted military and ethnic conflict. The only way to resolve the situation in Afghanistan is to stop the fighting, resume negotiations and work towards the establishment of a broad-based Government and national reconciliation.

The role of the international community, and of the United Nations in particular, is important. In order to make peacemaking efforts more effective, the United Nations needs to offer a coherent approach to the problem. For that to become possible, full cooperation by the countries with influence in Afghanistan, especially those neighbouring it, is crucial.

Full cooperation with the United Nations means, first and foremost, that foreign military interference in Afghanistan has to cease. Foreign interference in the form of active political or military support, including

foreign military personnel, is one of the main obstacles to the efforts for peace in Afghanistan. The appropriate solutions should be found to curb the flow of arms and other supplies to the warring factions.

Security conditions for United Nations and humanitarian personnel have been deteriorating for some time now and have finally resulted in the relocation of the United Nations international staff from Afghanistan. We strongly condemn the killing of an Italian national — the Military Adviser to the United Nations Special Mission in Kabul — and of the two Afghan staff members of the World Food Programme and of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Jalalabad. We expect that a full investigation into these crimes will be conducted.

We would like to express our deep concern at the fate of the personnel of the Iranian Consulate-General in Mazar-e-Sharif and of the other Iranian nationals who have been missing since the Taliban captured the city. We call upon the parties, in particular the Taliban, to respect their diplomatic status and the provisions of the Vienna Conventions and to secure their safe passage out of Afghanistan.

We call upon the parties to respect humanitarian law and human rights. We are particularly concerned at the reports of ethnic and religious persecution, impediments to the work of international humanitarian organizations and the displacement of innocent civilians. We would like to reiterate our concern at discrimination against girls and women and urge the Taliban to recognize and protect their rights in accordance with international human rights standards.

We believe that this is an appropriate time for the Security Council to make a firm pronouncement on the situation in Afghanistan.

Slovenia co-sponsored the draft resolution submitted for action today and shall vote in favour of it.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/1998/810) before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Bahrain, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, France, Gabon, Gambia, Japan, Kenya, Portugal, Russian Federation, Slovenia, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1193 (1998).

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3922

Security Council

Fifty-third Year

Provisional

3922nd Meeting

Monday, 31 August 1998, 5.25 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Türk	(Slovenia)
Members:	Bahrain	Mr. Al-Dosari
	Brazil	Mr. Amorim
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Costa Rica	Mr. Sáenz Biolley
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Gabon	Mr. Dangue Réwaka
	Gambia	Mr. Touray
	Japan	Mr. Saito
	Kenya	Mrs. Odera
	Portugal	Mr. Monteiro
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sergeev
	Sweden	Mr. Lidén
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Richmond
	United States of America	Mr. Burleigh

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

98-85725 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 5.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mwamba Kapanga (Democratic Republic of the Congo) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among the members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council expresses its deep concern about the current conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which poses a serious threat to regional peace and security. The Security Council expresses alarm at the plight of the civilian population throughout the country.

The Security Council reaffirms the obligation to respect the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and other States in the region and the need for all States to refrain from any interference in each other's internal affairs. In this context, the Council calls for a peaceful solution to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, including an immediate ceasefire, the withdrawal of all foreign forces, and the initiation of a peaceful process of political dialogue with a view to national reconciliation. The Council expresses support for all the regional diplomatic initiatives aimed at a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The problems of the Democratic Republic of the Congo must be solved on the basis of a process of all-inclusive national reconciliation which fully respects the equality and harmony of all ethnic groups and which leads to the holding of democratic, free and fair elections as soon as possible.

The Security Council urges all parties to respect and protect human rights and respect humanitarian law, in particular the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols of 1977, as applicable to them. It condemns reported summary executions, torture, harassment and detention of civilians based on their ethnic origin, the recruitment and use of child soldiers, the killing or wounding of combatants who have laid down their weapons, hate propaganda, sexual violence and other abuses by any side. In particular, the Council calls for the protection of the civilian population. It recalls the unacceptability of the destruction or rendering useless of objects indispensable to the survival of the civilian population, and in particular of using cuts in the electricity and water supply as a weapon against the population. The Council reaffirms that all persons who commit or order the commission of grave breaches of the above-mentioned instruments are individually responsible in respect of such breaches.

"The Security Council calls for safe and unhindered access for humanitarian agencies to all those in need in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It calls for unrestricted access by the ICRC to all detainees in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It urges all parties to guarantee the safety and security of United Nations and humanitarian personnel.

"The Security Council encourages the Secretary-General to continue to consult, as a matter of urgency, with regional leaders in coordination with the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) about ways to bring about a peaceful and durable solution to the conflict, and to keep it informed about developments and his own efforts. It reaffirms the importance of holding an international conference on peace, security and

development in the Great Lakes region under the auspices of the United Nations and the OAU.

"The Security Council will follow the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo closely. It will remain actively seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1998/26.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.